DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 185 418 CE 025 182

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|---|---|
| TITLE | ASPIRE Module 1: Sex-Role Socialization. Awareness of Sexual Prejudice is the Responsbility of Educators. |
| INSTITUTION | Livonia Public Schools, Mich. |
| SPONS AGENCY | Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Women's Educational Equity Act Program. |
| PUB DATE | 79 |
| NOTE | 140p.; For related documents see CE 025 183-185. |
| AVAILABLE FROM | EDC/WEEAP Distribution Center, 39 Chapel St., Newton, MA 02160 ($1.50) |
| EDRS PRICE | MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS. |
| DESCRIPTORS | Androgyny; Classroom Environment; Counselor Attitudes; Counselor Training; Elementary Secondary Education; Individual Development; Inservice Education; Inservice Teacher Education; Nature Nurture Controversy; Postsecondary Education; *Self Concept; Sex Bias; Sex Discrimination; Sex Fairness; *Sex Role; *Sex Stereotypes; *Social Attitudes; Social Behavior; Social Development; *Socialization; Social Values; Teacher Attitudes; *Teacher Improvement; Teaching Conditions |
| IDENTIFIERS | Project ASPIRE |

ABSTRACT

This first of four workshop modules in the Project ASPIRE (Awareness of Sexual Prejudice Is the Responsibility of Educators) series deals with understanding the development of sexual bias and individual attitudes toward sex-role sterectyping. (See Note about other modules.) The module helps work participants explore (1) the development of an individual's sexual identity, (2) their own sex-defined roles and attitudes as influenced by societal reinforcement, and (3) the values and expectations regarding their own sex roles. The module provides workshop facilitators with instructional guidelines, participant activities, and supplemental reading materials. Examples of the 22 participant activities include "Personal Unfoldment and Group Recall," "What's in a Word? Sexism Perhaps," "Fantasy," and "Values Voting." Each suggested activity is presented in this format: reference to objective, awareness level, purpose, logistics, materials, time required, process, and variations. It is recommended that at least two activities be chosen to treat each module objective. An appendix contains nine participant readings and two facilitator references to support specific activities. (YLB)

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ED185418

# ASPIRE Module 1 Sex-Role Socialization

## Awareness of Sexual Prejudice Is the Responsibility of Educators

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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CE 025 182



JUN 2 1980

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Printed and distributed by Education Development Center, 1979, 55 Chapel Street, Newton, Massachusetts 02160.

# PREFACE

When we first learned of the opportunity to write for Women's Educational Equity Act funds, I knew by virtue of my number of years in Livonia Public Schools and the attitudes and practices I had both observed and been privileged to be a part of, that there were a number of people who would be interested in pursuing this project. To that end, I assembled a committee of some twenty persons representative of all phases of the educational system to brainstorm the direction we might take in a proposal. From that group came the basic format which has now resulted in the modules as here presented.

Building from the original group, this project has involved the efforts of some fifty persons, representative counselors, teachers, administrators, parents and students. No project of this dimension could ever be achieved without the careful leadership of a person or persons who understand the objectives and possess the sensitivity necessary to evoke the best from each participant to obtain the major goal. In the case of Project ASPIRE (Awareness of Sexual Prejudice Is the Responsibility of Educators), there are two such people. Mrs. Harriet Shogan, Social Studies Coordinator for Livonia Public Schools, has served as advisor to the project and liaison to my office. This has been invaluable. Of even greater importance, however, have been the expertise and complete dedication of Ms. Barbara Mullally, who was the director of this project. She has even managed to raise the consciousness of those of us who so smugly thought we were already aware.

It goes without saying and yet it must be said that the support of a Superintendent of Schools and a Board of Education is of the utmost importance. That has been accorded us in full measure.

This represents our first effort at the production of material of this nature; we hope it will not be our last. In any event, we are mindful of the fact that no material will stand alone in addressing the many practices of sexual prejudice towards both males and females existent in our society. That must occur within our consciences and behavior. Our thesis has been that an awareness of the former would serve to bring about the latter. We offer these materials as a beginning step in that direction.

Esther B. Heusner
Director of Curriculum
Livonia Public Schools

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

With deep appreciation, we acknowledge the dedication and efforts of the following educators. Their co-operative work as a writing team greatly assisted in the production of these modules.

Christina H. Brynski
Harold H. Izumi
Paul J. Krogh
Robert S. Marks
John McDonald
Ella E. Nagy
Dean S. Schutz
Carol H. Shilakes
Dennis C. Sparks
Barbara A. Winquist
Mary Zamora

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# OBJECTIVES

1. *Participants will explore the development of an individual's sexual identity.*

2. *Participants will explore their own sex-defined roles and attitudes as influenced by societal reinforcement.*

3. *Participants will explore the values and expectations regarding their own sex roles.*

Activities are coded to indicate the objectives they address.

It is highly recommended that at least two activities be chosen to treat each objective. Validated activities are presented first, followed by supplementary exercises, which were not tested through Project ASPIRE.

Facilitators are encouraged to design workshops to meet the needs of the particular group with whom they work. Diagnosing these needs by means of an early contract setting activity will allow for appropriate and meaningful planning. Initial sessions should also include an introduction to the group communication rules outlined on page 4.

# OVERVIEW

The goal of Module I is to help participants gain an understanding of the development of sexual bias and individual attitudes toward sex-role stereotyping.

Module I is designed to increase the participant's understanding of society's sexual prejudice: its development, its manifestations in the lives of individuals, and the methods used to perpetuate sex-role stereotyping. The structure of the module reflects the belief that sexual bias is best understood in the context of one's own sex-role identity. Activities will assist participants in becoming aware of the freedoms, limitations, assumptions, and expectations which have contributed to the formation of that identity. Participants will explore their present behavior, attitudes, beliefs, and values regarding masculinity and femininity; societal influence on the definition of these terms will be studied. Small and large discussion groups will play a catalytic role in the learning of each participant. Surveys of ideas and research regarding sex-role socialization will provide vital background for the process.

The goal of the initial activities is to begin the creation of an environment which facilitates learning through clear communication with self and with others. The format reflects the belief that people learn best when they are with people with whom they are familiar and feel a substantial degree of comfort. The topic of sex-role stereotyping is introduced with activities for reflection and shared experiences.

Participants will continue to gain an understanding of sex-role stereotyping. A provocative film focusing on male sex-role socialization, together with various self-awareness and sharing activities, will help participants focus on their own socialization and any resultant limitations (physical, emotional, intellectual). The term "sex-role stereotyping" will be defined in the context of each participant's past and present experience and through literature on the topic of sex-role socialization. Participants will also define "sexism" and point to society's methods of reinforcing the practice (i.e., language usage, institutions, media). The group process for this session is specially designed so that stereotypical behavior will emerge. Observations, discussions and readings will focus on the nature/nurture question of human development.

Finally, the concept of androgyny will be introduced. Participants will be assisted in clarifying their personal concept of a "healthy human being" and in exploring any values inherent in this concept which limit behavior and attitudes in their lives. A trait auction and continuum will allow an introspective look at participants' expectations and assist them in examining their own values in that context.

# FACILITATOR BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following publications are suggested reading for facilitators. It is recommended that there be a substantial amount of background information gathered by facilitators before training sessions are held.


Bem, Sandra L., and Bem, Daryl L. "Training the Woman to Know Her Place: The Social Antecedents of Women in the World of Work" (1975). Available free from: Division of Pupil Personnel Services, Bureau of Instructional Support Services, Box 911, Harrisburg, PA 17126.

Bird, Caroline. *Born Female*. New York: Pocket Books, 1974.

Farrell, Warren. *The Liberated Man*. New York: Random House, 1975.

Fasteau, Marc. *The Male Machine*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.

Freidan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1974.

Janeway, Elizabeth. *Man's World, Woman's Place: A Study in Social Mythology*. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1971.

Levine, James. *Who Will Raise the Children? New Options for Fathers (Mothers)*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1976.

Mead, Margaret. *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1963.

Pleck, Joe, and Sawyer, Jack, eds. *Men and Masculinity*. Hollisw̃ood, N.Y.: Spectrum Publications, 1974.

Sadker, David. "Being a Man: A Unit of Instructional Activities on Male Role Stereotyping." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977. Stock no.: 017-080-01777-6.

# GROUP FACILITATION

Effective group facilitation is a complex task involving a number of leadership and human relationship skills. This is particularly true when the group is focused on sexism in the schools, a potentially sensitive and emotionally laden topic. The purpose of this section is to discuss some useful leadership skills and techniques, present a few problems and pitfalls you are likely to encounter, and provide you with some additional resources and references that may be helpful to you.

First, it is important for you as a group leader to examine your own skills, attitudes, and beliefs carefully. Who are you? What are your motives for leading a group on sexism? What are your attitudes and beliefs about sexism? What are your goals for this group? These must be clear! Do you believe in and respect the uniqueness of each participant, and trust that everyone has something to contribute to the group? Are you positive in your approach to the group members--will they perceive that you are for them? Do you feel secure enough about yourself so you can truly listen to others and be accepting of opinions and feelings that differ from your own? Because you will also be a participant in many of the activities you lead, you will learn and grow, and perhaps occasionally be confronted and criticized. Can you model an open and accepting attitude towards negative feelings that are directed to you? It is necessary that you consider these questions before the group begins.

People often have deep feelings, strongly held beliefs, and rigid defenses about the topic of sexism. It is your function to model and create an atmosphere of warmth, trust, and acceptance within the group. Without these conditions being present, individuals are unlikely to temporarily let down their defenses, explore honestly their feelings and attitudes, and participate actively in the group. Some suggestions that are likely to produce a cohesive, well-functioning group include dispensing with unnecessary formalities (use first names), listening attentively to what each group member has to say, clarifying and reflecting what group members have said, but refraining from preaching, evaluating, or moralizing. Resistance is an inherent, vital part of attitude change. Patience and authentic acceptance will best facilitate growth.

Be aware of the power and value of silence--use it effectively. Occasional lapses in discussion may mean that participants are thinking, and sometimes periods of silence give the more reticent members an opportunity to speak. Allow the silence to extend for a minute or so without interrupting it with a comment or question. Notice and acknowledge (when appropriate) group members' nonverbal behavior ("Jack, I've noticed that you have turned your chair away from the group"), encouraging interaction among the participants by pointing out commonalities ("Sheila, you and Sam seem to be concerned about the same issue"). If comments seem to be directed mostly at you, perhaps you are regarded as the authority rather than as an equal member of the group.

Continually examine the group process, and ask yourself these questions: (1) Is the group utilizing its own resources, or are a number of participants inactive and uninvolved? (2) Is there a feeling of freedom and trust in the group that encourages participants to express their real concerns and feelings without reservation? (3) Do group members seem to be holding on to strong feelings that relate to things that have happened in the group? (4) Is the group cohesive, or have cliques and subgroups formed? Your awareness of these group problems may provide an opportunity for you to intervene with strategies to promote a more healthy functioning of the group.

Your role as a group facilitator is to promote cohesiveness and interaction, model good human relations skills, assist in the resolution of interpersonal conflicts, and present the activities suggested in this manual. To do all these effectively you need to develop and practice a number of skills:

"I MESSAGE"--a statement of belief or feelings that demonstrates ownership and responsibility for the message (e.g., "I feel confused," as opposed to "This group sure is confused").

STRUCTURING--providing participants with purposes, procedures, and guidelines for all sessions and activities.

UNIVERSALIZING--pointing out that participants often share feelings and attitudes that they previously may have perceived as being unique to them.

LINKING--pointing out similarities and differences in the comments of group members.

FEEDBACK--letting others know how their beliefs, feelings and behaviors affect us. This is usually most meaningful when it is done in a caring and nonjudgmental way.

REDIRECTING--turning a question back to the group or individual participants.

QUESTIONING--open-ended questions ("How are you feeling right now?") are generally more effective than structured questions ("Are you angry?").

PROVIDING ENCOURAGEMENT--encouragement and reinforcement for participation will increase involvement and group members will soon begin to encourage each other.

SUMMARIZING--it is important to be able to succinctly summarize at various points during the session. This might include the paraphrasing of a participant's comments, or a concluding summary at the end of an activity.

REFLECTING--the identification and "checking out" of group members' feelings will encourage their expression and clarification.

These skills need to be taught to participants during the first meeting. The model you present to the group will be extremely important in assisting individuals in acquiring these skills and in promoting healthy group functioning throughout the training program.

Even the skilled facilitator will occasionally experience difficulties in group leadership. Participants may appear bored or uninvolved in certain activities, and groups often go through stages of development in which hostility and criticism are directed at the leader. It may be helpful to know that these reactions and feelings are not uncommon, and that flexibility in planning and sincere, nonevaluative empathic listening will be useful to you during these difficult periods. The utilization of co-facilitators may also be worth your consideration--the responsibility for the group can be shared, and you also have someone to talk with regarding group problems.

Many difficulties in groups are caused by problems in communication. As leaders, we assume that the words we use will have the same meaning to others that they do to us, and that we will automatically know the meaning of the words that others say to us. Consequently, meanings are misperceived, and confusion results. It is important that we frequently "check out" the messages we receive ("I think you're saying...") and solicit feedback and questions from the group regarding our communication to them ("Would someone like to say back to me in your own words what you think I said?"). Taking the time to clarify communication does not demonstrate lack of skill on our part, but illustrates our understanding of the importance of clear communication for effective group functioning.

The role of the group facilitator can be a difficult and demanding one. However, if you have taken the time to learn about yourself prior to the group's inception, have developed the suggested interpersonal skills, have familiarized yourself with the activities planned for the session, possess a flexible approach to planning, and are perceived by the participants as someone who is "for them," the results are likely to be highly positive for you and the group members. Remember, who you are will be as important as what you know about sexism in making the group a successful learning experience for everyone involved.

Prepared by Dr. Dennis C. Sparks, Livonia Public Schools.

## Helpful References


Dinkmeyer, D., and Muro, J. *Group Counseling: Theory and Practice.* Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, 1971.

Gordon, T. *Teacher Effectiveness Training.* New York: Peter H. Wyden, 1974.

Napier, R., and Gershenfeld, N. *Groups: Theory and Experience.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973.

Richardson, F., and Island D. "A Model for Training Workshops and Labs," *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 1975, 53(8), 592-597.

Rogers, C. *On Encounter Groups.* New York: Harper & Row, 1970.


## Maintenance Activities


Pfeiffer, J. William, and Jones, J. E., eds. *A Handbook of Structured Experiences for Human Relations Training*, Vols. 1-6. La Jolla, Calif.: University Associates, Inc., 1973-76.

# CONTENT DEFINITIONS

The following definitions were developed by the staff of Project ASPIRE. They are intended as suggested guidelines for discussion. Facilitators are encouraged to assist participants in adapting definitions to their particular school setting.

*Sexism* manifests itself in the school setting when human potential for growth and development is limited by the arbitrary assignment of certain traits, abilities and expectations to students solely on the basis of sex, regardless of their attributes as individual people.

*Sex-Role Stereotyping* is the act of classifying and labeling human beings into fixed gender-based roles which are based upon preconceived perceptions learned in and reinforced by society.

*Sexual Identity:* One's sexual self-concept in accordance with culturally and biologically determined factors; often setting up limitations and expectations.

*Sexual Prejudice and Bias* are sets of conscious or unconscious perceptions regarding gender that are based on personal and cultural values and that contain certain qualities:

- Bias may be injurious and/or negative, and may not be based on experience.
- Prejudices may be injurious and rigid, may not be based on prior knowledge or experience, and may be reinforced by institutions and society.

*Sexual Discrimination* is an overt expression of bias, prejudice and/or stereotyping based on gender, which can exclude or restrict the maximum growth and utilization of an individual's potential and which manifests itself in many different forms.

*Androgyny:* The concept that people are individual blends of capabilities considered both masculine and feminine according to the traditional stereotypes. People of either sex can have both "masculine" or "feminine" characteristics. An androgynous person could adapt more easily to different situational demands by behaving in a manner consonant with the situation regardless of whether the behavior falls within the usual sex-role stereotypes.

# PROCESS DEFINITIONS

Frequent reference is made to the following group process strategies throughout the training module. Facilitators are encouraged to incorporate these and other familiar strategies into training sessions, adapting to the needs of the participating group.

*Brainstorming:* A widely-used problem-solving tool which encourages participants to use their imaginations and be creative. It helps elicit numerous ideas focused on a given topic. Quantity is encouraged. Quantity eventually breeds quality. After a question is posed by the facilitator, participants call out or list any and all ideas without taking time to comment or evaluate. The ban on evaluation is then lifted and groups or individuals work to build upon or modify the ideas generated into a specific theme suggested by the facilitator.

*Whip:* A simple and rapid means for participants to identify their own reactions and those of others. The facilitator poses a question to the group and provides a few moments for thought. Then the facilitator "whips" around the group, inviting brief, succinct answers. Participants may choose to pass.

*Values Voting:* A strategy which provides participants an opportunity to publicly affirm feelings and opinions surrounding a discussion topic by voting. As a question is presented, prefaced by "How many of you...," participants express agreement with a raised hand, disagreement with a thumbs-down gesture, and indecision by folding their arms. Varying degrees of intensity of feeling may be expressed by exaggeration of the gestures.

*I Learned Statements:* A closure strategy to assist participants in processing personal learning gained through one or more activities. Participants respond in writing or in a group to such sentence stems as:

- I learned...
- I discovered...
- I was surprised that...
- It was confirmed for me that...
- I was reminded that...

Sharing such statements is, of course, optional.

*Rank Order:* A strategy used to clarify participants' feelings or values by prioritizing a list of three or more ideas, objects, feelings, etc. in relation to a question posed by the facilitator. Follow-up discussion is optional.

*Fishbowl:* A discussion strategy which encourages group listening. A group forms two concentric circles. The inner circle is the focus as participants share ideas centered on a topic assigned by the facilitator. The outer circle members may participate in two ways:

a) By listening, without interruption.

b) By involving themselves in the discussion individually. This can only occur when one empty seat has been established as part of the inner circle. The speaker must take that seat, express his/her thoughts, and return to the outer circle.

# SETTING PATTERNS FOR COMMUNICATION

As groups embark on a learning process, especially one which focuses on a sensitive and emotionally laden issue, essential patterns for communication must be established: communication with self and with others. Both are vital if awareness of sex-role stereotyping is to be increased and professional insights are to be gained.

## A Personal Journal

A personal journal will provide participants with an introspective record of their insights as they become aware of the influence sexual prejudice has had on their lives and the lives of their students. Writing is a way of assimilating new information into a meaningful, workable frame of reference. Focus questions suggested throughout the modules will aid participants in using this medium in the most meaningful way. Participants will be invited to share their writings but will always have the option to pass.

## Group Communication Skills

Interpersonal communication skills are another essential if growth is to occur. Establishing "rules" for communication facilitates the discussion of sensitive issues. *It is strongly recommended* that the following rules be introduced, practiced and modeled in all workshops designed with the help of these training modules, regardless of the length of time allotted. These help to create a climate of trust and acceptance.

1) Active listening

   Listening to another, not rehearsing or judging his/her words.

   Attending--listening with one's body (eye contact, proximity, facing speaker, etc.).

   Reflecting what one hears (paraphrasing) and what one senses, noting verbal and nonverbal clues.

   Asking questions which invite speaker to elaborate on his/her thoughts and feelings rather than answer with yes/no or with insignificant details.

2) Clear, direct communication

   "I" messages express the speaker's feelings in a nonjudgmental way. "I am disappointed that you're late" or "I am surprised to hear you say that!" This avoids blaming another for one's feelings or

behavior as in "You've made me late!" or "You can't really feel that way!" The speaker owns and takes responsibility for his/her feelings and opinions.

*Discussion* of ideas in order to clarify points of view, rather than *debating* issues to the point of winning/losing.

Expressing respect for all ideas--one's own and others'. Avoid:

- Killer statements: "I don't believe you said that!"
  "You're a fool if you believe that!"
- Suicide statements: "This is going to sound dumb but..."
  "I'm not too smart in this area but..."

3) An option to pass

This option should be understood and frequently reiterated during sessions. The choice of privacy should *never* be questioned.

Interaction guided by these rules will generate introspection and personal sharing in an open, caring, safe environment. Participants will get to know one another as individuals--a process that will certainly facilitate learning.

# ACTIVITIES

INTRODUCTIONS

**OBJECTIVE** Warm-up

**AWARENESS** Low-High

## PURPOSE

To assist participants in introducing themselves to each other and to the topic of sexism.

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## LOGISTICS

Directions posted.
Chairs randomly placed in pairs.

## MATERIALS

List of discussion questions for each participant.

## Time Required

30-45 minutes

## PROCESS

1. As participants arrive at an opening session, a list of the following questions is distributed or posted. Directions should request that participants pair up and choose at least four questions to discuss in order to introduce themselves. Participants are encouraged to avoid "census" information (e.g., name, rank, teaching level, age, etc.).
   Suggested questions:
   a) What is one significant fact about who you are today?
   b) What is one event you are really looking forward to?
   c) Who is one person who has greatly influenced your life?
   d) What is one thing you like about being male or female? One you dislike?
   e) What is one thing you like about your work? One you dislike?
   f) When are you happiest being male or female? Most unhappy?
   g) What is one skill you are proud to have?
   h) Who is a male you truly admire?
   i) Who is a female you truly admire?
   j) What is one thing you are carrying with you now which represents your masculinity or femininity?
2. When pairs have had 20 minutes to discuss, facilitator asks each to join another pair. Partners introduce each other, paraphrasing the previous discussion.
3. A total group discussion of group communication rules is a very appropriate follow-up.

INTRODUCTIONS

**OBJECTIVE** Warm-up

**AWARENESS** Low-High

## PURPOSE

To assist participants in introducing themselves to each other and to the topic of sexism.

## LOGISTICS

Directions posted. Chairs randomly placed in pairs.

## MATERIALS

List of discussion questions for each participant.

## Time Required

30-45 minutes

## PROCESS

1. As participants arrive at an opening session, a list of the following questions is distributed or posted. Directions should request that participants pair up and choose at least four (4) questions to discuss in order to introduce themselves. Participants are encouraged to avoid "census" information (e.g., name, rank, teaching level, age, etc.).
   Suggested questions:
   a) What is one significant fact about who you are today?
   b) What is one event you are really looking forward to?
   c) Who is one person who has greatly influenced your life?
   d) What is one thing you like about being male or female? One you dislike?
   e) What is one thing you like about your work? One you dislike?
   f) When are you happiest being male or female? Most unhappy?
   g) What is one skill you are proud to have?
   h) Who is a male you truly admire?
   i) Who is a female you truly admire?
   j) What is one thing you are carrying with you now which represents your masculinity or femininity?
2. When pairs have had 20 minutes to discuss, facilitator asks each to join another pair. Partners introduce each other, paraphrasing the previous discussion.
3. A total group discussion of group communication rules is a very appropriate follow-up.

MEN'S LIVES

**OBJECTIVE** 1

**AWARENESS** Low

## PURPOSE

To understand present societal reinforcement of the male and female sex-role stereotypes.

17

## LOGISTICS

Total group - chairs arranged for comfortable viewing.
Small groups for discussion.

## Time Required

1½ hours

25

## MATERIALS

Film entitled Men's Lives, available through New Day Films.
Rental: $56.00
Allow: 4-6 weeks advance notice.

New Day Films
P.O. Box 315
Franklin Lakes, N.J.
07417

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator previews film.
2. Facilitator introduces the film by pointing to sexual prejudice as having a significant effect on male, as well as female, lives.
3. Group views the film.
4. Facilitator invites comment and discussion regarding the film. It is recommended that three or four focus questions be prepared. However, careful moderation of participant discussion may create the same effect.
   Suggested focus questions:
   a) What feelings did you experience while viewing this film?
   b) Which scene had the greatest impact on you?
   c) What feelings arose?
   d) What experiences could you identify with?
   e) What messages do you recall receiving with regard to your role in life?
   f) Did/do you experience a sense of "working hard" at being a man/woman?
   g) How do the socialization processes of men and women perpetuate each other?
5. Facilitator divides participants into small groups and asks them to imagine the production of a film called Women's Lives. What would it depict? Facilitator makes a list of significant scenes to be included and summarizes for total group verbally or by posting lists.

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SEXISM: WHAT IS IT?

**OBJECTIVE** 1/2

**AWARENESS** Medium-High

## PURPOSE

To define "sexism" from participants' experience through a group consensus process.

To observe and react to differences in male and female behavior.

## LOGISTICS

Divide group into 4 heterogeneous groups. Tables for small groups to work and write.

## MATERIALS

Large newsprint
markers

Reading #1 - "Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies."

Reading #2 - "There's No Unisex in the Nursery."

See Appendix for all readings listed.

## Time Required

1½ hours

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator assigns each of the four groups the task of defining the term "sexism" by group consensus. A time limit of 30 minutes is issued. A written product is necessary.
2. Facilitator explains that each group must elect a negotiator to argue the quality of the group's definition. The negotiations will take place before total group.
3. As negotiations begin, facilitator explains that the task of the negotiators is to agree on a consensus definition by incorporating or altering the small group definitions.
4. Facilitator invites groups to gather around their negotiator as a sign of support. After 30 minutes, the process is concluded, even though a consensus may not have been reached.
5. Facilitator summarizes by presenting another definition of "sexism."*
6. Facilitator invites comments regarding the process of the activity.
   a) What behaviors did you observe among group members?
   b) Did you notice any differences between male/female behavior?
   c) What roles or traits were displayed (i.e., Did men tend to be leaders, initiators, dominators and to contribute more rationally and confidently? Did women tend to be cooperators, mediators and to contribute more emotionally or less assertively?)
   d) To what would you contribute any generalized differences which you observed?
   e) Do there appear to be inherent differences between males and females?

*See definitions

SEXISM: WHAT IS IT? - (continued)

**OBJECTIVE** _____
**AWARENESS** _____

| PURPOSE | PROCESS |
|---|---|
| | 7. Facilitator encourages discussion on the process and on observations that were made. Summarizing statements can be made by facilitator or entered into journals by participants.<br>8. The consensus definition should be duplicated for distribution at the next session.<br>9. Facilitator makes the following readings available to participants:<br>Reading #1 - Mead, Margaret - "Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies." Male and Female in Other Societies. - William Morrow and Co., N.Y., 1963.<br>Reading #2 - Lewis, Michael - "There's No Unisex in the Nursery," The Female Experience, 1973. Psychology Today. |

| LOGISTICS | MATERIALS |
|---|---|
| | |
| **Time Required** | |

19

# I MUST - I COULD

**OBJECTIVE** 1/2

**AWARENESS** Medium

## PURPOSE

To increase awareness of the limiting nature of sex-role stereotyping in American society.

To increase personal awareness of the limitations or freedoms inherent in one's own sex-role identity.

To evaluate personal perceptions of limitations and freedoms inherent in the role of the opposite sex.

20

## LOGISTICS

Mixed groups of two or three.
Facilities for writing and space to accommodate small groups with minimal noise interference.

## MATERIALS

Journals, pens

## Time Required

45 minutes

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator asks participants to respond privately in writing to these stimulus questions:
   a) Because I am male/female, I must....
   b) If I were male/female I could....

   Facilitator's modeling will encourage spontaneous, valid responses. (At least 5 responses to each.)
2. Participants share responses in small mixed groups.
3. Facilitator asks for feedback to total group, encouraging participants to notice trends and to share new insights about their own, as well as the opposite, sex.
4. Facilitator directs participants to make journal entries responding to open-ended statements.
   Suggested statements:
   a) I realized that....
   b) I never realized that....
   c) I was surprised to learn that....
   d) I wonder....

   Participants may be invited to share their entries with the group.
5. Facilitator provides a summary statement pointing to the content of the responses and its ability to reflect the controls and limitations on one's behavior, which in turn manifests the attitudes and beliefs surrounding one's sex-role identity.

32

QUOTABLE QUOTES

**OBJECTIVE** 2

**AWARENESS** Medium

## PURPOSE

To alert participants to statements common in our daily language which perpetuate stereotypical thinking.

21

## LOGISTICS

Total group

## MATERIALS

Journal
Pen/pencil
List of quotations

## Time Required

15 minutes

33

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator gives examples of commonly heard quotes supposedly describing the nature of males and females.* Facilitator invites participants to add others.
2. Participants are asked to listen carefully between sessions to themselves and others for stereotyping statements. They are encouraged to seek out both those which reinforce stereotypes and those which reflect human nature or what participants see as the true nature of males/females.
3. Facilitator sets aside time to share statements and reactions at the beginning of the next session.
   Focus questions include:
   a) Did you hear yourself?
   b) Did you hear others?
   c) What can we say about the influence of such statements?

* Appendix

34

WHAT'S IN A WORD? SEXISM, PERHAPS

**OBJECTIVE** 2

**AWARENESS** Medium

## PURPOSE

To call attention to sexist implications within commonly used words and phrases.

22

## LOGISTICS

Total group--chairs gathered around.
Display board

## MATERIALS

Large Newsprint
Display board
Markers
Reading #3-"What's in a Word?" Mary Lee George
Reading #4-"You Are What You Say," Robin Lakoff
Reading #5-"Alternatives to Sexist Language"
Reading #6-"Words Which Make Women Disappear," Alma Graham

## Time Required

45 minutes

## PROCESS

1. Total group brainstorms commonly used words or phrases considered to reflect sexist attitudes.* Facilitator records these on newsprint or blackboard, using the left side only.
2. Facilitator points out the difference between the connotated meaning of a word (suggested or implied) and the denotated meaning (literal). Facilitator entitles two columns "MEANS" and "IMPLIES" to the right of the list of words.
3. Facilitator challenges participants to suggest sex-fair alternatives to the words listed.
4. Facilitator points out other usages reflecting sexual bias, such as occupational titles, use of the prefix "woman" (woman lawyer), the language of marriage (Mr., Mrs., Ms., Miss), the linguistic double standard (playboy vs. loose woman, aggressive vs. bossy).
5. Facilitator makes some of the following readings available to participants:
   a) Reading #3 - "What's in a Word?" Mary Lee George
   b) Reading #4 - "You Are What You Say," Robin Lakoff
   c) Reading #5 - "Alternatives to Sexist Language"
   d) Reading #6 - "Words Which Make Women Disappear," Alma Graham

VARIATION

1. Facilitator challenges participants to parallel sexist words referring to females (chick, broad) with words referring to males.

* Possible words: Chick, broad, hunk, Miss, dude, guy, repairman, the weaker sex, lady, girl, babe, mankind, old lady, old man, gal, he.

## ROLE PLAY: CONTAMINATED CONNOTATIONS

**OBJECTIVE** 2

**AWARENESS** Medium-High

Note: This activity may be used in conjunction with activity entitled "What's in a Word?"

## PURPOSE

To illustrate the implied meanings of terms which reflect sex bias.

23

## LOGISTICS

Total group
Two same-sexed groups of four.
Horseshoe formation to facilitate role play observation.

## Time Required

30 minutes

## MATERIALS

Newsprint
Markers
Individual word cards printed with the following words:

| | |
|---|---|
| girl | boy |
| woman | man |
| lady | gentleman |

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator prepares performers before presentation time. Using three males and three females, facilitator privately explains their task: to create two skits in which the connotations of the following words can be conveyed. Women are cast as "girl," "woman," and "lady." Men are cast as "boy," "man," and "gentleman."
2. While actors are rehearsing, facilitator speaks briefly about the implied meanings of words and explains the goal of the role play. The audience participants are not made aware of the words to be portrayed.
3. When prepared, actors set the scene and role play.
4. After the role plays, facilitator records as participants call out adjectives which describe each actor in his/her role. The actual terms are revealed and participants attempt to match them with correct performer. Discussion should center on the implied meaning of the terms as depicted in role plays and descriptions.
5. The final role play is optional. Two women and one man should be privately cast as "spinster," "single woman," and "bachelor" and given the same task as in the previous role plays. Again, the group is not briefed on the terms being enacted. The same procedure is followed. Discussion should center on the double standard of language.
6. Facilitator encourages participants to express the terms they prefer.

MEDIA MESSAGES

**OBJECTIVE** 2

**AWARENESS** Low

## PURPOSE

To increase awareness of the effects of the media in developing and reinforcing sex-role stereotypes.



## LOGISTICS

Total group

## Time Required

30 minutes - Session 1
45 minutes - Session 2

## MATERIALS

Filmstrip projector/
cassette recorder

Sexism in Language and Media, filmstrip/cassette kit by the Learning Seed Company

Display board
Paper strips
Markers
Tally sheets

Learning Seed Company
145 Brentwood Drive
Palatine, Illinois 60067

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator shows filmstrip which focuses on the representation of male and female roles as portrayed in the media.
2. Facilitator encourages discussion and examples of evidence of sexism in the media.
3. Facilitator distributes the Media Monitor Form.
4. Facilitator suggests various media evaluation assignments and distributes appropriate evaluation criteria. Participants choose one area of focus and return prepared to share their data at the next session.
   Suggested focus areas include:
   a) View one hour of a specific type of television programming, e.g., news broadcasting, situation comedies, children's programming, educational programming, musical variety.
   b) View ten television commercials.
   c) Peruse written media, e.g., newspaper and magazine articles, advertising, cartoons, illustrations.
   d) Listen intently to six popular songs or peruse album covers.
   e) Notice ten billboard advertisements.

   Facilitator encourages participants to bring examples for display.
5. During the following session, participants form focus groups to share their findings and present a summary to total group. A display board where participant examples can be mounted should be available. Along with each example, participants post the message portrayed (e.g.,"Women are helpless," or "Men show no emotion"). Discussion follows.
6. Participants respond in journals with "I learned..." statements. Sharing is optional.

## MEDIA MONITOR FORM

### TELEVISION PROGRAMMING

1. Note numbers of males and females appearing in speaking roles.
2. Note occupations (paid work) of males and females.
3. Note "attackers" and "victims."
4. Note traits of major male and female characters.
5. Note gender of production technicians.

*6. Note gender of newscasters.

*7. Note topics of stories covered by female newscasters.

*8. Note evidence of sex bias in news content or reporting.

*Specific focus: news programs

### WRITTEN MEDIA

1. Note numbers of stories about males/females.
2. Note the reasons why males/females were newsworthy.
3. Note photos of males and females - number and context.
4. Note section titles and content - both stories and advertising. Example: "Women's Section," containing articles pertaining to family life, human relations, cooking.
5. Note language used to describe males and females (i.e., titles, adjectives, etc.).

### ADVERTISING

1. Note occupations of males and females depicted, if any.
2. Note language references to males and females.
3. Note intended audience attraction techniques--sex appeal? Role appeal?
4. Note portrayal of male and female roles.

### MUSIC

1. Note gender of artist and topic of song.
2. Note situations described. Who's waiting? Who's pleading? Who's dominating? Who's deciding?
3. Note the source of identity of individuals mentioned in song.

WHAT'S IN A WALLET?

**OBJECTIVE** 3

**AWARENESS** Low

## PURPOSE

To stimulate awareness of participants' personal meaning of masculinity and femininity.

To further develop a feeling of comfort about sharing with the group.

26

## LOGISTICS

Total group seated in a circle, facing each other.
(15-20 suggested maximum)

## MATERIALS

Contents of participants' pockets or purses.

## Time Required

30 minutes

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator requests:

   "From your purse or your pocket, take out the item which best represents your masculinity/femininity." It is recommended that facilitator repeat this statement and, if necessary, rephrase (e.g., "Which object do you carry simply because you are a man/woman?" or "Which object would you not be carrying if you were a member of the other sex?").
2. Participants present the item and explain its significance.
3. Facilitator invites participants to react in the large group to this experience.
4. Facilitator assists group in noting similarities/differences which occurred among participant choices. Obvious trends can be discussed. As they emerge, however, attempts by facilitator to judge or analyze responses may inhibit participation.
5. Participants make a journal entry or share comments with group members responding to any learning gained from the activity.

VARIATION

1. Participants share objects in small groups (4-6). Facilitator elicits summary feedback from each group.

FANTASY

**OBJECTIVE** 3

**AWARENESS** Medium-High

## PURPOSE

To define sex-role stereotyping.

To increase awareness of personal perceptions of the desirable characteristics inherent in the role of the opposite sex.

27

## LOGISTICS

Total group

## Time Required

1½ hours

## MATERIALS

Journal
Pen/pencil

Reading #7-"Why Men Die Younger," Reader's Digest, November, 1972. Albert Rosenfeld

Reading #8-Excerpts taken from Bem, S.L. and Bem, D.J. Training the Woman to Know Her Place.

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator invites participants to fantasize:

   "Plan a week living as a member of the opposite sex. You may be anything and live anywhere. Give specific details."

   The following focus questions assist participants in developing their fantasy.

   a) How old would you be?
   b) Which race?
   c) What would you look like? (Height, weight, eye/hair color, build, distinguishing features)
   d) How would you provide for yourself financially?
   e) Where would you live?
   f) How would you live?
   g) What activities would you want to be sure and include in that week?
   h) Name?

2. Fifteen minutes are allotted for participants to make specific notes on their fantasy, part of which will be shared with the group.

3. Facilitator describes and organizes a FISHBOWL* activity, beginning with females in the central discussion area. Outer circle members listen without comment.

4. After all females have shared fantasies, positions are reversed with the males in the inside discussion circle. Sharing continues.

* See definitions

FANTASY - (continued)

**OBJECTIVE** _____
**AWARENESS** _____

| PURPOSE | PROCESS |
|---|---|
| 28 | 5. Facilitator elicits comments from both males and females regarding what they heard.<br>a) What did you learn during the exercise?<br>b) What was this experience like for you?<br>6. Facilitator defines "sex-role stereotype."**<br>7. The following readings are made available to participants after a brief summary of each.<br>Reading #7 - Rosenfeld, Albert, "Why Men Die Younger," Reader's Digest, November, 1972.<br>Reading #8 - Excerpts taken from Bem, S.L. and Bem, D.J., Training the Woman to Know Her Place. |
| **LOGISTICS** / **MATERIALS** | |
| 00 16 | ** See definitions |
| **Time Required** | 17 |

# THE IDEAL

**OBJECTIVE** 3

**AWARENESS** Low

## PURPOSE

To investigate tenets of mental health as described in terms of character traits.

To become aware of sexual differential expectations held by helping professionals.

29

## LOGISTICS

3 heterogeneous groups
3 separate working areas

## MATERIALS

Newsprint
Markers

Facilitator Reference:
Broverman et al, "Sex-Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health." Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1970, Vol. 34, No. 1.

## Time Required

1 hour

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator briefly explains to total group that small groups will be necessary to complete the next task. It should be made clear that the activity has a particular structure designed to elicit discussion material. Facilitator encourages participants to respond authentically. Each group adjourns to its assigned area and awaits instructions.
2. Facilitator confidentially assigns these tasks, one to each group.

   Describe a healthy female.
   Describe a healthy male.
   Describe a healthy adult.

   Using only traits in this description, groups fantasize a future, outlining probable career and lifestyle decisions.
3. After approximately 30 minutes, facilitator calls group together to display its creation.
4. A spokesperson from each group describes the group creation to total group, including future fantasy.
5. Facilitator invites participants to react to the experience and to the products, encouraging any observations reflecting stereotyped or non-stereotyped assumptions.
6. Facilitator shares study done by Broverman regarding clinical judgments of mental health. Excerpts from, or a complete copy of, the study should be made available to participants.*

* Appendix

TRAIT AUCTION

**OBJECTIVE** 3

**AWARENESS** Low

## PURPOSE

To help participants pinpoint character traits they value.

To encourage self-awareness of traits which have been developed or rejected.

To introduce the concept of androgyny.

30

## LOGISTICS

Total group
Tables and chairs arranged in a horse-shoe.

50

## Time Required

1 hour

## MATERIALS

Trait Auction form
Pen or pencils
Cards containing trait names
Display board

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator explains that a TRAIT AUCTION will be held and human traits will be sold to the highest bidder. Each participant is given 1,000 dollars to be used in purchasing the traits s/he desires.
2. Facilitator provides each participant with a list of 20 traits and allows 10-15 minutes for strategy planning and budgeting. Suggested traits to be printed on auction form include:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Competitiveness | Lightheartedness | Self-sufficiency |
| Openness | Tact | Courageousness |
| Nurturance | Intelligence | Authenticity |
| Sensuality | Creativity | Spirituality |
| Worldliness | Spontaneity | Independence |
| Logic | Assertiveness | Loyalty |
| Cooperation | Ambition | Warmth |
| Sense of humor | Sexuality | Playfulness |
| Strength | Determination | Orderliness |
| Friendliness | Resourcefulness | Cleanliness |
| Leadership | Religiousness | Curiosity |
| Trust | Attractiveness | Forgiveness |
| Self-discipline | Reflectiveness | Adventurousness |
| Imagination | Energy | Personal Growth |
| Sensitivity to others | | |

3. To begin the auction, facilitator chooses one of the traits and, with the flair of an auctioneer, opens the bidding. It is recommended that 50 point increments be used.
4. Participants may choose to bid on the traits they most value or on those they feel they presently lack. They may define these themselves. The bidding proceeds until action is closed out by auctioneer: "Going once, twice, sold!" A lively pace is essential.

51

TRAIT AUCTION - (continued)

**OBJECTIVE** _____

**AWARENESS** _____

## PURPOSE

31

## LOGISTICS

## MATERIALS

**Time Required**

## PROCESS

5. Facilitator continues until all traits are sold or participants run out of points.
6. Facilitator keeps a tally of the winning bid for each trait in order to observe group trends as they emerge.
7. Facilitator asks participants to react to the experience. Possible focus questions:
   a) Which traits do you value? Why?
   b) Do you think you possess them?
   c) Are there steps you can take to develop one of those?
   d) What group trends did you observe?
8. Facilitator summarizes by pointing to traits valued by the group and by society as being particularly "feminine" or "masculine." The concept of androgyny* is introduced and discussed.
9. Facilitator summarizes findings of Horner's "Fear of Success Study."**

This activity was adapted from PERSONALIZING EDUCATION: Values Clarification and Beyond by Leland W. Howe and Mary Martha Howe, copyright 1975 Hart Publishing Company, Inc.

*See definitions
**Appendix

## TRAIT AUCTION

You have 2000 points

| Traits | I Budgeted | My Highest Bid | I Spent | Winning Bid | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | |
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TRAIT CONTINUUM

**OBJECTIVE** 3

**AWARENESS** Low

## PURPOSE

To provide a self-inventory of traits.

To increase participants' awareness of personal changes they may wish to make.

To reinforce the concept of androgyny.

33

## LOGISTICS

Total group introduction
Individual completion
Sharing trios

## MATERIALS

Two types of trait continuums

## Time Required

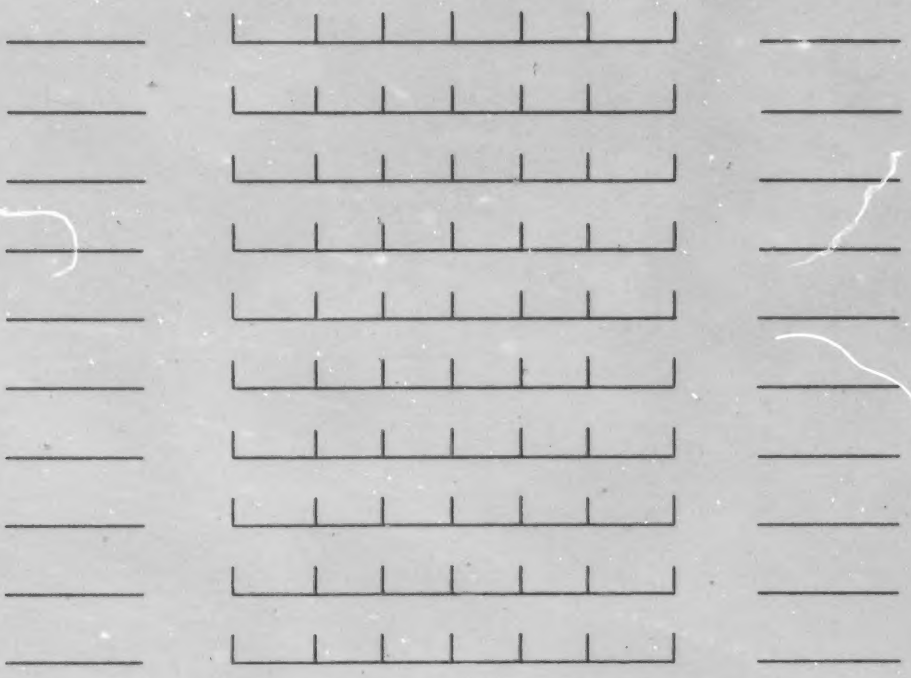
30 minutes

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator provides participants with a trait continuum form. Facilitator may choose from the following:
   a) A blank form where participants list several traits they wish to work on.
   b) A form on which various traits have been listed.

   Participants are asked to code twice: Once for present assessment and once for future assessment to reflect areas where change is desired.
2. In trios, participants share reactions to the self-inventory continuum. If appropriate, they may wish to discuss one trait they want to change.
3. Facilitator encourages journal entries in order to process this activity.
4. Facilitator invites any reactions to self-survey.

According to research, mental health specialists expect "healthy" adults to exhibit many of the traits included in the auction. Where do you stand? Choose several you wish to consider in your own personal development. Create a continuum for each, including an opposite trait. Mark a (P) for your present personal assessment.



As you placed yourself, were there traits you wished to further develop? Or diminish? If so, return to those traits and mark (F) for future development. Is there one step you could take to get started?

According to research, mental health specialists expect "healthy" adults to exhibit many of the traits listed below. Where do you stand? Mark a (P) for your present personal assessment.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aggressive | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Nonaggressive |
| Independent | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Dependent |
| Emotional | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Unemotional |
| Spontaneous | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Over-planned |
| Submissive | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Dominant |
| Excitable | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Not excitable |
| Spiritual | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Not spiritual |
| Competitive | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Not competitive |
| Rational | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Irrational |
| Other-oriented | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Self-oriented |
| Express my feelings easily | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Keep feelings to myself |
| Adventurous | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Cautious |
| Cry easily | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Never cry |
| Leader | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Follower |
| Self-confident | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Unsure |
| Ambitious | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Not ambitious |
| Athletic | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Not athletic |
| Concerned about appearance | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Not concerned about appearance |
| Talkative | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Not talkative |
| Blunt | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Tactful |
| Neat | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Sloppy |
| Loud | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Quiet |
| Tender | _ _ _ _ _ _ _ | Tough |

As you placed yourself, were there traits you wished to further develop? Or diminish? If so, return to those trait continuums and mark an (F) for future. Is there one thing you could do to get started?

# SUPPLEMENTAL ACTIVITIES

CONTRACT SETTING

**OBJECTIVE** Warm-up

**AWARENESS** Low

## PURPOSE

To build a mutually agreeable contract between participants and trainers.

To bring to surface critical concerns and key questions of participants and trainers.

To set ground rules for sessions, including norms such as honesty, and procedures, such as beginning and ending times.

To build trust, openness, and honesty among participants and with trainers.

39

## LOGISTICS

Room large enough for small groups or separate rooms. Chairs in circle, each small group with its own chart pad, markers, and masking tape.

## MATERIALS

Small pad, chart pad, felt tip markers, masking tape.

## Time Required

1 to 3 hours

60

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator asks participants to list the goals and objectives they want accomplished by the end of the sessions. The task may be posed as follows:

   "If this training program was extremely successful for you, what would you want accomplished by its end for yourself? What questions would you want answered? How would you like to feel? What would you like to believe? What would you like to have happen in this small group?"

   Answers are shared and are written on chart pad. When a range of answers has been written on the large pad, the group is asked to look for agreements and apparent priorities. If there is time, a consensus list can be developed that sets objectives for the session.

2. The facilitator is not passive during this time. She or he can suggest her or his objectives and desired outcomes. During this process, or at the end, the facilitator reviews the objectives and assesses whether the training program as presently designed or as possibly modified can meet group needs. The facilitator honestly shares with the group which objectives s/he considers to be achievable and nonachievable. This is an important part of the contract-building process in which the facilitator is honest with the group and makes no false promises about what the training program can deliver.

3. To identify group resources, participants and trainers share the resources they bring to accomplish the group objectives. Resources can include information, skills, openness, discipline, promptness, etc. Facilitators should make note of the resources in the group and be willing to use those resources as appropriate in the training experience.

61

CONTRACT SETTING - (continued)

OBJECTIVE _____

AWARENESS _____

| PURPOSE | PROCESS |
|---|---|
| 40 | VARIATION<br><br>1. Facilitator utilizes statement of intent. If a group is large some words need to be said to the whole group prior to division into small groups. Opening remarks may sound as follows:<br><br>"In trying to deal with a complex issue such as sexism, we have learned that we as trainers and you as participants bring a great variety of concerns, questions, and resources to the task. In order that we might get better acquainted, share our concerns, surface our questions, and identify the multiple resources that are in the room, we suggest that we begin our program by building a contract with each other. This contract will set the foundation for our work together. We will divide into a number of groups, each with its own facilitator, and the contract building will occur within those small groups.<br><br>Facilitator then divides the group by a pre-arranged method (by sex or some other criteria). If the division is by sex, the men's and women's contracts should be placed side-by-side at the conclusion of the experience and any glaring differences that would affect women and men working together should be adjudicated. If the group is not divided along sex lines, the need for this comparison is not as great. Only glaring differences, which usually do not exist, need to be addressed. |
| **LOGISTICS** / **MATERIALS** | |
| 62 | 63 |
| **Time Required** | |

COAT OF ARMS

**OBJECTIVE** 1

**AWARENESS** Medium

## PURPOSE

To increase participants' awareness of their own sex-role development.

To become aware of specific influences from the past which contributed to the definition of participants' sexual identity or sex role.

41

## LOGISTICS

Total group seated at tables with adequate space for drawing.

## MATERIALS

Coat of arms with six spaces.
Markers

## Time Required

1½ hours

## PROCESS

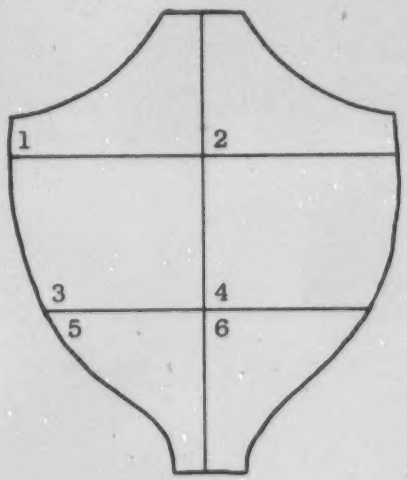
1. Facilitator provides each participant with a facsimile of a coat of arms.* Participants respond to six questions by drawing, in the appropriate areas, a picture, design, or symbol. Simple drawings which easily express participant responses are encouraged.
   Suggested questions:
   a) Draw a person for whom you had particular admiration when you were young (18 or under).
   b) Draw three activities in which you excel.
   c) Draw an activity where you feel/felt particularly masculine.
   d) Draw an activity where you feel/felt particularly feminine.
   e) Draw a person who restricted your behavior when you were young. What do you recall this person saying?
   f) Draw a behavior from which you were restricted as a youth.
   g) Draw what you like about being male/female.
   h) Draw what you dislike about being male/female.
   i) Draw an activity from which you presently feel restricted.
   j) Draw three things you would most like to be said of you if you died today.
   k) Draw the event in your life which typifies your man/womanhood.
   l) Draw any specific feedback directly related to your man/womanhood that you can recall.

*See illustration, next page.

COAT OF ARMS - (continued)

**OBJECTIVE** _____

**AWARENESS** _____

| PURPOSE | PROCESS |
|---|---|
| 42 | 2. Facilitator posts coat of arms for group sharing, or heterogeneous groups of four or five are formed in which participants explain the significance of each drawing.<br>3. To process activity, facilitator invites comments on noticeable patterns or learning.<br><br>Coat of Arms Facsimile<br><br>  <br><br><br>This activity adapted from Simon, How, Kirschenbaum, Values Clarification; Hart Publishing, Inc., New York. |
| **LOGISTICS** / **MATERIALS** | |
| **Time Required** | |

MASCULINITY

**OBJECTIVE** 1

**AWARENESS** Low

## PURPOSE

To explore the "masculine role" stereotype: its development, its manifestations, and its reinforcement by society.

To explore the connotations of "masculine" and "feminine" and assess the validity of using the terms as labels.

To explore options and alternatives presently available to men.

43

## LOGISTICS

Total group - seated for viewing and discussion.

## Time Required

30 minutes per filmstrip

68

## MATERIALS

Masculinity, filmstrip/cassette kit, available through:

Schloat Productions
Prentice-Hall Co.
150 White Plains Road
Tarrytown, New York
10591

## PROCESS

1. Participants view filmstrips and utilize discussion questions suggested in program guide.
2. The four filmstrips treat the following topics:

   Part 1: "What is a Man?" explores role perceptions (whether masculine traits are innate or environmentally created) and concepts of masculinity throughout the world.

   Part 2: "Masculine or Feminine?" provides students with a method for exploring the whole question of "gender" as applied both to people and to things. Through viewing some three dozen "images" (few abstract, most concrete) and by responding to them in free-associational terms, students begin to see how the application of gender is frequently an arbitrary matter.

   Part 3: "The Masculine Image" uses an historical overview to take a closer look at American men and the masculine attributes ascribed to them. The roles that myths and stereotypes have played in this process are thoroughly explored, as are the effects that both have had on the masculine image and on the ways men are defined.

   Part 4: "What Makes a Man" examines, through an episode in the life of a young man, the difficulties many men are having today in working out problems of self-image, identity, lifestyle, and personal values in their lives (on their own and with their mates) in ways that are meaningful and satisfying to them.

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TRIGGER: HOW WAS YOUR DAY?

**OBJECTIVE** 1

**AWARENESS** Low

## PURPOSE

To increase awareness of sex-role expectations and limitations, particularly of the female role, through the use of fantasy.



## LOGISTICS

Total group
Room for physical relaxation

## MATERIALS

None

## Time Required

5 - 10 minutes



## PROCESS

1. Facilitator asks participants to reflect upon the day's activities. A relaxed position, closed eyes, a quiet room, and questions focusing on different times and duties of the day assist participants in this recall.
2. After five minutes, facilitator asks participants to imagine the same day as a member of the opposite sex.
3. Facilitator invites any verbal reactions to this exercise and encourages journal entries.

VARIATION

1. Participants may ask their child or a student a similar question. "What would you have done today if you were a boy/girl?"

VALUES VOTING

**OBJECTIVE** 2/3

**AWARENESS** Medium

## PURPOSE

To explore the values held by individuals regarding stereotypical male/female roles.

45

## LOGISTICS

Total group

## MATERIALS

List of suggested voting questions.

## Time Required

15-20 minutes

## PROCESS

1. Facilitator reads each question aloud. Participants take a position by show of hands. Those who wish to answer in the affirmative raise their hands; those who wish to answer negatively point their thumbs down; those who are undecided fold their arms; those who want to pass simply take no action at all. Discussion is tabled until the facilitator has completed the entire list. Facilitator's vote is delayed slightly in order to avoid influencing participants.
2. Values Voting serves well as a low risk introduction or transition strategy. Processing of questions raised may be structured immediately following the activity or may be incorporated into later activities.

## VALUES VOTING

## QUESTIONS

How many of you . . . ?

- avoid using foul language
- enjoy doing the driving
- like kittens
- kiss your sons/fathers
- are confused about Title IX
- would like to have an unstructured day
- picked up the tab last time you shared a restaurant meal with a friend
- consider yourselves religious
- have cried in the last seven days
- took out the garbage last time it was necessary
- have a doctor's phone number in your pocket
- like to cook
- like to get a tan
- can define sexism
- would feel uncomfortable in the presence of a crying adult
- feel men are less emotional than women
- feel most women are more religious than men
- believe there should be equal distribution of sports funds between males/females in school
- read Playboy
- would change your profession if you had a chance
- would approve of contract marriages in which the marriage would come up for renewal every few years
- expect to get a doctorate someday
- want to give or receive an engagement ring
- enjoy daydreaming
- enjoy preparing food for others
- play the stockmarket

74

GROUP SHARING

**OBJECTIVE** 2/3

**AWARENESS** Low

## PURPOSE

To raise the consciousness of individuals concerning their feelings about their identity as men and as women.

To provide a structured activity which allows participants to share experiences common to them as women and as men.

47

## LOGISTICS

Large groups should be divided into sub-groups of 5 or 6.
Room large enough to accommodate small groups with minimal noise interference.

## MATERIALS

Stimulus questions

## Time Required

35-45 minutes

75

## PROCESS

1. Same-sex groups of five or six people are formed.
2. Facilitator informs group of the rules for the activity.
   a) Each person in the small group responds to each question. The option to pass prevails, however.
   b) Questions will be read at five-minute (or more) intervals.
   c) Each person answers before any discussion.
3. Facilitator decides how many questions should be used. Suggested questions:
   a) When, or in what situations, do you feel most feminine (for women) or masculine (for men)?
   b) When, or in what situations, do you feel least feminine (or masculine)?
   c) What do others see as most feminine (or masculine) about you? Do men and women see you the same way?
   d) Describe an incident in your childhood or adolescence when you were rewarded for doing something appropriate for your sex. How did you feel?
   e) Describe an incident in your childhood or adolescence when others reacted negatively to you because of something you did that was inappropriate to your sex. How did you feel? How did this experience affect you?
   f) Describe other experiences where you were rewarded or punished for appropriate or inappropriate sex-role behavior? How did these make you feel? What effect did they have on you?
   g) What trait or interest that you don't have because it is considered to be inappropriate to your sex would you most like to have? How would life be different for you if you had it?

76

GROUP SHARING - (continued)

**OBJECTIVE** _____

**AWARENESS** _____

## PURPOSE

48

## LOGISTICS

## MATERIALS

## Time Required

## PROCESS

h) What trait or interest that you do have because it is considered to be appropriate to your sex would you most like to change? Why? How would life be different for you if you could change it?

i) Think of your intimate relationships with persons of the other sex--your present relationship if you have one or a past one if you do not. In this relationship, describe some different ways that you and your partner behave together that are in accordance with the traditional ideal for male/female relationships. How do you and your partner feel about them?

j) Describe ways in which your relationship differs from the traditional male/female relationship. How do you feel about these differences?

4. Facilitator reads first question to entire group and monitors to see that groups finish before next question is announced.

5. Small groups discuss the activity for 15 minutes. Suggested process questions include:

   a) How did you feel during the activity?
   b) Were there things you wanted to share but didn't? If so, why?
   c) Did you feel surprised by anything you heard? What?

6. Facilitator can ask for a short report from each small group to conclude the activity.

78

GROUP SHARING - (continued)

**OBJECTIVE** _____
**AWARENESS** _____

## PURPOSE

49

## PROCESS

VARIATION

1. A more sophisticated group can be divided into male/female groups.
2. Facilitator adds stimulus questions to meet the needs of the group as they emerge.
3. Teachers in the group can be asked to poll their classes on questions (d) and (e) as "homework."

Credit: Mary M. Campbell & Robert W. Terry, Handbook of Training Activities to Combat Sexism in Education.

## LOGISTICS

## MATERIALS

**Time Required**

79

80

DENIAL AND RIDICULE*

**OBJECTIVE** 2

**AWARENESS** Medium

## PURPOSE

To raise participant consciousness of the various ways that ridicule and denial are used to keep women "in their place."

To provide feedback for individuals who use denial and ridicule.

To understand how denial can block a group.

50

## LOGISTICS

One trainer to 10-15 participants

## MATERIALS

Markers
Newsprint
Paper for ballots
Pencils

81

## Time Required

1/2 to 2 hours

## PROCESS

*Below are listed several ideas that can be useful in exploring the "ridicule" issue. This is a high risk strategy designed to generate provocative data. It is important that the facilitator be sensitive to this and be prepared for emotional interaction.

1. At the beginning of a workshop, facilitator asks a man and a woman to observe the group and make a list of the kinds of denial (or ridicule, jokes, discounting, laughter, etc.) of women or women's issues that is going on in the group. They are to do this without the knowledge of the other group members. Direct quotes are most effective.
2. Lists are presented to the total group early enough to stimulate change, but late enough to have gathered data. It is important that a man and a woman do this task as a woman alone might experience denial and ridicule from the group when feeding back the collected data.

   Note: This can also be done for any number of sexist behaviors such as:

   - Speaking for women
   - Interrupting women
   - Reclarifying ("What she means is...")
   - Ignoring or cutting off women
   - Men speaking louder to cut off women

VARIATION

1. Facilitator asks participants to make a list of the ways they were "put down" or made fun of in the last two weeks because they are women/men. Participants discuss the lists and compare differences between female and male perceptions.

82

DENIAL AND RIDICULE - (continued)

**OBJECTIVE** _____

**AWARENESS** _____

## PURPOSE

## LOGISTICS

## MATERIALS

## Time Required

## PROCESS

2. Facilitator uses Levels of Denial* to assess participants' perception of the level of denial regarding the issue of sexism during workshop experience.

   a) Facilitator passes four pieces of newsprint around the room with the following headings:

      (1) TOTAL DENIAL - Sexism really isn't an issue in society.

      (2) RECOGNITION OF THE ISSUE AS BEING IMPORTANT TO OTHERS BUT NOT TO ME - "Sure there is some sexism and discrimination in schools, but it doesn't have anything to do with me."

      (3) RECOGNITION OF SELF, BUT RESIGNATION TO THE SITUATION - "Yeah. I know I have some responsibility for sex discrimination but schools reflect society, and it's never going to change. That's the way things are."

      (4) RECOGNITION AND DEALING - "I recognize the validity of the issue and my responsibilities in dealing with myself, others and the system."

   b) Facilitator distributes slips of paper and conducts a secret ballot by directing participants to honestly decide where they would place themselves at this time and to be as honest as possible as the ballot is secret.

   c) Facilitator collects ballots and tabulates them on newsprint.

   d) Participants discuss the implications and the meanings presented by the tabulation.

* Level of Denial exercise developed by Joyce Kaser and Kent Bosdorfer, KEDS General Assistance Center.

Credit: Mary M. Campbell & Robert W. Terry, Handbook of Training Activities to Combat Sexism in Education.

OPINION SURVEYS: SEXISM

**OBJECTIVE** 3

**AWARENESS** Low

## PURPOSE

To gather information from participants concerning their attitudes and beliefs about sexism and sex discrimination.

To stimulate thinking about the issue of sexism prior to a workshop experience.

52

## LOGISTICS

Total group - survey
Small group (3-4) discussion.

85

## Time Required

Varies with use

## MATERIALS

Personal Opinion Survey

## PROCESS

1. The "Personal Opinion Survey" can be distributed to workshop participants prior to the seminar. Each person completes the survey and gives it to the facilitator before the beginning of the seminar.
2. Facilitator analyzes the responses to assess participants' level of understanding about the various dimensions of the issue of sexism.
3. This data can be presented to the participants during the workshop by listing the answers to each question anonymously on newsprint, or particular questions can be highlighted during the seminar. For example, when definitions of sexism are being discussed, the participants' definitions from the survey can be shared.

Credit: Mary M. Campbell & Robert W. Terry

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## PERSONAL OPINION SURVEY

The following questions are intended to gather information about your perceptions about sexism. Please be as frank and honest as possible. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. Your own perceptions, thoughts and feelings are what is wanted. Your individual survey will be kept by the facilitator. Any data shared from the survey will be a consolidation of everyone's responses. Your response will not be identified.

1. What do the following terms mean to you?

   Sex-role stereotype: _____

   Sexism: _____

   Masculine: _____

   Feminine: _____

2. List any ways that sexism benefits people: _____

   _____

3. List any ways that sexism hurts people: _____

   _____

4. How has sexism personally affected you? How have you experienced it? ____

   _____

5. In what ways, if at all, is sexism reinforced or perpetuated by school systems? _____

   _____

6. Please describe the behavior which is prohibited by Title IX. _____

   _____

7. If you were asked to give a talk or speech to members of the Board of Education to motivate them to eliminate sexist practices and behaviors, what points would you want to make in the speech? _____

   _____

8. Please provide the following data about yourself: _____

   Name (optional): _____

   Birthplace: _____

   Race: _____

   Marital status: _____

   Position: _____

   Age: _____

   Sex: _____

If you have specific concerns that you would like to have addressed in this workshop, please list them: _____

_____

_____

Questionnaire adapted from one prepared by Bruce Gibb.

# APPENDIX

# MALE AND FEMALE IN OTHER SOCIETIES

by Margaret Mead

Anthropologists have found that the assignment of certain temperaments to male or female is an artificial and arbitrary decision.

As civilizations develop, men pick out certain of their own inclinations, needs, talents, traits, and physical characteristics for emphasis and development. Some societies pick out the same traits as desirable for everyone to develop. Some assign different personalities to people as they fall into different groups according to age, sex, rank, or other means of classification.

Some distinctions we can recognize as quite arbitrary. For instance, the Mundugumor, a society in New Guinea, believes that only children born with the umbilical cord wrapped around their necks can become accomplished artists. We are tempted to laugh at a connection between such unrelated subjects as umbilical cords and artistic ability. But among Mundugumor people only those who are so born do, in fact, turn out to be competent artists. Others try, but are never successful. The belief of the society actually makes artists of certain members.

Other differences, such as the presumed special endowment of all first-born children, we also recognize as being fabrications of human society. But we do not see as strange the insistence of cultures on the many nonbiological differences that are held to exist between male and female. These personality traits are no more related to sex than artistic ability is to manner of birth, and they do not even hold constant for male and female in all societies. But most of us see the distinctions as quite natural.

This study is not concerned with whether or not there really are any differences between the sexes. It is very simply an account of how two primitive societies have grouped their social attitudes toward temperament about the obvious fact of sex difference.

## The Arapesh

The peaceful mountain dwellers of New Guinea called the Arapesh do recognize the fact that men and women are physically different and possessed of different potentialities. They are therefore given different jobs to perform. But they are not assigned correspondingly different temperaments. Both sexes unite in a common venture that is primarily what we would call maternal, cherishing, and oriented away from the self toward the needs of the next generation.

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Men and women do different things, but their motivation is not thought to be different. They have the same end in sight. Men are given more authority only because someone must have it and men are the ones who are freer to assume it.

Neither the male nor the female Arapesh is thought to be aggressive in sexual matters. Every Arapesh is responsive sexually, but only in the appropriate situation. Sex is mainly directed toward childbearing.

The land on which the Arapesh live is not rich. They must work hard to produce enough food. And work is nearly all cooperative. They do not think in terms of ownership, but regard themselves as belonging to the land. The gardens are worked by family groups, men and women together.

The hunting is done by men in groups, and each one is careful not to outshine the others. If he does, he is likely to find himself forced to hunt alone--not accepted by the others as a valuable contributor to society.

The work that is perhaps considered to be more a joint venture between male and female than any other is the job of bearing and raising children. Children hold a very important place in Arapesh society and it takes the combined effort of all members to see that they are raised properly.

The careful planning and sacrifices begin before the baby is born. At the birth of the baby the father goes through rituals that include him in the process. After the birth, especially of a first child, a father is thought to be in a more delicate condition than the mother.

The husband and wife both practice self-control for months afterward so that another baby will not be conceived too soon. It is thought that each child needs three years of having his parents to himself.

Child care is carried out by men and women, and the men are just as patient, just as proud as the women are. A common response to someone commenting on the appearance of a middle-aged man is, "Good looking? Ye-e-s. But you should have seen him before he bore all those children."

How do the Arapesh ensure that their children will grow into the kind of adults demanded by the society? It is a simple society, and the only members who are accepted and happy are those who show themselves, whether male or female, to be placid and contented, unaggressive, noncompetitive and responsive, warm, docile, and trusting. Nearly all Arapesh do indeed display these qualities. What in the child's training produces such a personality in so many Arapesh adults?

It is not a matter of simple imitation. The final personality is a product of the way in which the child is fed, put to sleep, disciplined, taught self-control, petted, punished, and encouraged.

During the child's first months it is never far from someone's arms. Its mother carries it in a soft pouch near her body and allows it to nurse whenever it is fretful. When the mother must put it down to work in the garden, a small boy or girl--both love babies--is taken along to hold the baby. A child's crying is a tragedy to be avoided at any cost, and this attitude is carried over into later life.

The child is weaned very gradually and gently when it is two or three. Periods of absence from its mother are followed by periods of complete attention.

The older child is given much freedom in his behavior; there are few taboos. The only differences he learns in relationships with others are the differences caused by age: Grandfathers demand a quicker response than uncles. Boys and girls play together freely and develop easy relationships with each other. No clothes are worn until the age of six or seven, and until then there is no shame connected with their bodies.

Other children often stay for periods in the homes of relatives and learn to trust completely anyone designated as a relative.

The only marked difference in the personality of boys and girls is that at the age of six or seven girls learn to control their temper tantrums, while boys continue to roll about on the ground, kicking and screaming, until they are fourteen or fifteen.

Girls are given grass skirts to wear and are afraid of soiling or tearing them by rough behavior. Boys also begin to identify with their fathers, who must leave them when they go on journeys. This brings on tantrums in the boys, while only girls who have no brothers, and are treated like boys by their fathers, display like behavior.

Another reason for the boys' behavior is that they have a model for it. Men, in public speeches, often simulate anger and defiance, stamping their feet and shouting.

But the games played by the young are never rough or competitive. No violent play is allowed, and the children are never punished harshly. If a child encounters a difficulty in his play, such as a tree that is too large to climb easily, he is at once helped by an attentive adult. He therefore develops little pride in and reliance on his own ability to master the world. But he does develop a great trust in people.

The boys are as protected from aggression and struggle, from rude discipline, as the most fragile girl in our society. They never learn to feel pride in being able to "take it like a man." Therefore they never develop a sense of sportsmanship. Their feelings remain tender, and tears come easily at the slightest wound, whether physical or psychological.

The Mundugumor

The Mundugumor inhabit a rich, fertile land southeast of the Arapesh, which they manage to keep by inspiring terror in their neighbors. Such a society demands a different sort of personality from the well-adjusted and contributive adult. Both men and women are expected to be violent, competitive, aggressively sexed, jealous, and ready to see and avenge insult, delighting in display, in action, in fighting.

The social organization of the Mundugumor is based on the assumption of natural hostility between members of the same sex. Unlike most societies, the Mundugumor do not pass down property from mother to daughter or father to son, but hand it down from mother to son to son's daughter, to son's daughter's son, and so on. This situation creates much suspicion and rivalry between members of the family.

The feelings are intensified by the fact that in many families there are several wives. The sons of each wife unite with their mothers against their father. The sisters can be traded to another family for a wife either for the son or for the father.

The mother tries to protect the rights of her son (and thus her own security) and also wants to prevent the introduction into the household of another wife for her husband who will further detract from her status and authority.

It is into this hostile environment that the Mundugumor child is born--a world that is not tempered by its parents' affection or protection. The birth of a child is not looked forward to as a happy event but is seen as a near tragedy by both mother and father. The father cannot welcome a son who will not belong to his line. The mother fears a daughter who can eventually be used to procure a new wife for her husband. The father is usually so resentful that, on hearing his wife is pregnant, [he] will take a new wife and temporarily desert the pregnant wife.

When the child is born there is conflict about whether the child will be saved or not. The father argues in favor of killing a boy child. The mother does not want to save a girl. If the child is not killed immediately, its chances of survival are good. But it will not have a very happy babyhood.

Neither parent holds or plays with the child very much. It is carried in a rigid bag on the mother's back. If it cries, it is not picked up; someone merely scratches the rough mesh of the bag. Feeding time is not a time of pleasure and security. The mother nurses the child while standing, and the child is not allowed even to take a rest during a feeding. Once it stops sucking, even for a moment, the meal is considered over. It learns thereby to be aggressive and to go after what it wants.

When old enough, the child is taken from his bag and from then on must travel under his own power or ride on the adult's shoulders, holding on by

himself. The child is usually ignored if it cries. If it is hurt or ill, the mother resents having to care for it. It is weaned quickly and harshly.

The child learns early a series of prohibitions as its first lessons. There are many things a child is not allowed to do, and the reprimands are not gentle. It does not find in its circle of relatives the easy relationships found among the Arapesh.

When they are old enough, the children form their own groups without interference or guidance from adults. They learn to value their independence and their physical liberty and do not develop any group loyalty. The games are very competitive, and the parents or other adults do not protect the smaller from the attacks of the larger children. They thus learn to defend themselves and to not rely on help from others.

A seven-year-old boy may rebel against his father and leave home. But the girl is carefully and jealously watched. This only serves to increase her hostility, make her more aggressive, and increase the odds that she will quarrel with everyone.

These two situations, then, suggest a very definite conclusion. If those personality attitudes that we have traditionally regarded as feminine--passivity, responsiveness, and a willingness to cherish children--can so easily be set up as the masculine pattern in one tribe and in another be outlawed for the majority of both women and men, we no longer have any basis for regarding such aspects of behavior as sex-linked.

The material suggests that we may say that many, if not all, of the personality traits we have called masculine or feminine are as lightly linked to sex as are the clothing, the manners, and the form of headdress that a society at a given period assigns to either sex. Arapesh children develop into contented, passive, secure persons, while Mundugumor children develop just as characteristically into violent, aggressive, insecure persons--and sex doesn't dictate the pattern in either case.

It is only to the impact of the whole of the culture that we can give the responsibility for the formation of the contrasting types. There is no explanation based on race or diet or selection that can logically explain them. We are forced to conclude that human nature is almost unbelievably malleable, responding accurately to contrasting cultural conditions.

The differences between individuals who are members of different cultures, like the differences between individuals within a culture, are almost entirely to be explained by differences in conditioning superimposed on temperamental differences--especially during early childhood. And this conditioning is culturally determined.

Standardized personality differences between the sexes are of this order: cultural creations to which each generation and each male and female are trained to conform.

**READING 2**

# THERE'S NO UNISEX IN THE NURSERY

by Michael Lewis

Parents do not treat an infant daughter the way they treat an infant son. Mothers talk to their girls more and cuddle their boys less. This may explain why girls later become more verbal than boys, and boys more independent than girls.

For a long time psychology has been concerned with individual differences. Its root question continues to be: how and why are individuals (and groups) different from one another? Just as revealing would be a psychology that seeks ways in which people are similar to one another or seeks educational programs that result in similar performance among different persons. Psychology might more profitably concern itself with the process that produces individual differences than with the differences themselves.

This concern with individual differences is mirrored in society. It is particularly noticeable in matters pertaining to gender, especially sex as a physiological fact. Many persons have found that a formerly unexceptional statement like "Boys and girls are different" now sets off furious blasts among interest groups from women's liberation to gay liberation. On the basis of present information, no one can demonstrate either that the differences between the sexes are solely learned or that they are biologically determined. I am here concerned with what we can observe happening in the life of a very young child as a function of his or her sex.

## Female Precocity

Mothers and fathers respond to boy infants in one way and to girl infants in another way. To take just one of many instances, girl infants are talked to much more than boy infants are. This fact is sometimes advanced to explain female precocity--girls acquire language much earlier than boys. Yet research has shown that girl infants respond more to auditory stimuli than boys do, and this would suggest a basic biological difference that parents, presumably being the most acute and interested of observers, respond to.

All we can say at the moment is that an infant's sex is very important to his or her parents. Long before the birth of their child, before they know how big it will be, what kind of temperament it will have, whether it will be healthy or not, parents express (or suppress) their preferences for the sex of the child, and select names that will label it according to its sex. (I am, of course, talking about the American culture.) In some societies, the naming process is frequently a more individual thing, depending on the unique circumstances of birth, time or place; in others,

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the individual often names himself, at a time that he deems proper, in response to some interior vision of his life's significance or to an external event that in some ways bears upon his sense of himself.

In 1969 L. W. Sontag, W. G. Steele and I studied fetal behavior in the last three months of pregnancy. Although we obtained no direct data, it was our distinct impression that mothers responded to the activity of the fetus in a sex-differentiated way. When the fetus was active--if it kicked and moved a great deal--the mother interpreted this as a sign that the child probably was male. And all of us are familiar with folk wisdom that relates a child's prenatal position to its sex--boys supposedly are carried high and girls are carried low.

After the child is born, parents vary their behavior qualitatively and measurably according to the child's sex. As early as three months of age, boys and girls are behaving in measurably different ways. Which parental behaviors contribute to these sex differences?

Touching and Talk

I shall concentrate on the mother-infant dyad, because it is fundamental to personality and social development. Let's use the term *attachment behavior* to describe the variety of actions that make up the intense, interpersonal relationship between mother and infant. It is convenient to distinguish among two broad classes of attachment behavior. The first, which I'll call *proximal* behavior, has to do with physical contact--touching, holding, rocking, caressing, kissing, etc. The other, called *distal* behavior, has to do with activities that achieve or maintain contact other than by touching: smiling, looking at, talking to, gesturing at, etc.

In a series of related studies, my colleagues and I have analyzed the behavior of mothers and infants. We studied the infants at the ages of 12 weeks, six months, and 13 months. In the first two series of studies, we visited in the homes and observed the attachment behavior of mothers and infants in the course of a normal day. In the third series, for the 13-month-olds, we added an experimental setting that we called a free-play situation. This was a room marked off into squares and containing a number of toys. We asked each mother to sit in a chair and watch her child play for 15 minutes. As we observed the mothers and children, we analyzed four major types of behavior: vocalization, looking at, touching, and proximity-seeking (how far from the mother the child ventured and how long he or she remained in areas distant from the mother). At the end of the 15-minute session, we placed a fence, which we called a frustration barrier, in the middle of the room, separating mother and child.

These studies show that from the earliest age, girl infants are looked at and talked to more than boy infants. For the first six months or so, boy infants have more physical contact than girl infants, but by the time boys are six months old, this reverses and girls get more physical contact and more nontouching contact.

By the time they reach 13 months, boys venture significantly farther from their mothers, stay away from their mothers for longer periods of time, and look at and talk to their mothers less often than do girls of the same age.

Boys play more vigorously with toys, often banging them together, and play significantly more with nontoys (doorknobs, light switches, and other room equipment). A boy also responds with more overt aggression to the frustration barrier; he attempts to get around it, instead of standing in the middle of the room and crying.

In trying to explain these results, I might first point out that what the parent does to the infant, the infant is likely to do back. This is, in fact, the implicit intent of most behavior, and this is why we can refer to most behavior as socializing--as intended to indicate or shape acceptable social responses. It seems clear that moving the infant from physical-contact interaction to nontouching interaction is an early and major end of the socialization of interpersonal behavior.

From Physical to Visual

Face-to-face, frontal, bodily contact between infant and mother must eventually change to the visual-verbal interaction of adults. The mother, therefore, moves the child from a close physical contact with its social world to an essentially visual contact. Many different methods are used in this shift. One is simply to turn the infant from a face-to-face to a face-to-back position, the infant facing away from and not touching the mother. This is done with an easy, usually gentle, turning motion. Another technique is to attract the attention of the infant away from the mother by pointing out something in the environment or suggesting that the infant play with some distant object.

This socialization process is carried out and completed, for the most part, within the first two years of life. However, boys are moved along faster than girls are. One-year-old girls are allowed and encouraged to spend significantly more time touching and staying near their mothers than boys are. Girls, too, are moved away from physical contact with their mothers, but later than boys--and the separation process seems to be less severe for girls than for boys.

It is difficult to explain why, during their child's first six months of life, mothers touch boy babies more than they touch girls. Perhaps boys are more valuable to the mother than girls. Or boys may be more fretful and upset at birth than girls; newborn boys do in fact cry more than girls, possibly as a consequence of more traumatic birth experiences. It may also be that boys are more readily quieted by physical stimulation than girls are, while auditory stimulation more readily hushes girls. Each of these possibilities deserves investigation.

After this six-month period of "proximal grace," boys are hustled away quickly from touching contact with the mother. The motive appears to

be cultural; mothers believe that boys should be more independent than girls and that they should be encouraged to explore and master their world. Exploration, independence, mastery, and other aggressive behaviors or qualities are antithetical to any close personal contact. In any case, mothers have started to move their sons away from physical contact by the age of six months, and by the age of 13 months, male children show significantly more exploratory and autonomous behavior than girls do. The behavior of fathers toward their children shows similar patterns and apparently has similar motives.

The Touch Taboo

There clearly is some relationship between these sex-differentiated behavior patterns in childhood and in adult life. In American society, especially in the "traditional" or Puritan-evolved America, we find that men and women are allowed considerably different degrees of freedom of touching. In general, men may touch women only when sexual relations are possible and acceptable, and may not make physical contact with other men except in circumscribed or unusual contexts. In great excitement--at a football game, for example--men are allowed to embrace or hug other men. In extreme emotional distress, as in combat, a man may collapse into the arms of another man; but in general, men touch other men only if they are performing a prescribed service such as barbering or doctoring.

While women in our culture are somewhat restricted in touching men, they are allowed much more contact with other women. They may embrace each other or in many circumstances dance together. It is highly appropriate, indeed incorporate in the feminine ideal, for women to be physically affectionate with children. It is less appropriate for men to demonstrate such physical affection.

Men and women also seem to respond differently to certain kinds of stress, such as overcrowding. In a crowded room, men tend to become more edgy, hostile and aggressive. In the same overcrowded conditions, women tend to become friendlier. It may be that the possibility of unwanted or unacceptable physical contact is in some way responsible for heightened aggression among males.

It is important to recall that I have been talking about a culture in some unitary sense. While these sex-related stereotypes may be true for large segments of our culture, and are generally reflected in the mass media, they are by no means universal. Among Americans of Italian, Greek, Armenian or Jewish ancestry, for example, there appears to be more physical contact among men. It has been noted that Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other Latin Americans tend to stand somewhat closer in casual conversation, generating subtle unease in Anglo-Saxons. Infant socialization practices may account in part for such cultural differences.

Liberating the Men

It might be wondered if anything in these findings is relevant to the women's liberation movement. In part, they seem to indicate than in interpersonal relationships, women have more freedom of action and more available, more acceptable ways to express their feelings. This freedom of emotional expression represents a great advantage, one that is to some extent nullified by feelings of self-hate that are common to all groups that are exploited, powerless, or discriminated against.

It should be obvious that I assume touching to be a primary expressive medium, and that I hold that expression of feelings is necessary and good. One is not likely to have his needs fulfilled if he cannot express them or if he must disguise them to the point of unrecognizability. But in societies like our own in which competition is extremely important--in which an individual's self-esteem and happiness are directly flavored by his acquisitive success or lack of it--touching and the emotional responsiveness it engenders may be a severe disadvantage. For this reason, intense social pressures on males discourage interpersonal closeness. Ironically, these counterpressures are initially expressed through the mother, and may have as their essential content a simple frustration of vital needs.

It is probably no accident that the new social movements combine a partial rejection of masculine ideals like intense competitiveness or clearly defined sex-related roles with an intensification of touching and feeling interactions, and that these new movements all have a communal rather than individualistic flavor. Knowing this, people interested in feeling and in group interaction must move toward an embrace of the feminine ideal--the feminization rather than the masculinization of our society.

# WHAT'S IN A WORD?

By Mary Lee George

What's in a word? Sexism perhaps. So what, some will say. Does this really matter when there are so many other important things feminists have to work for?

Does the language we speak affect our perception of the world around us? Yes, it does, says Edward Sapir, a famous linguist: it affects our thinking and our lives at the subconscious level of our awareness. He states his hypothesis as follows.

> Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group.... We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation.[1]

If language then is a screen through which our perception is filtered, it is important to recognize the sexist implications inherent in it and bring them to our conscious level of awareness. Here we can analyze them and in some cases even work toward changing the language so that it reflects a humanist rather than a sexist view.

It might be helpful here to define what one means by the term "sexist." Jessie Bernard has said that sexism is:

> the unconscious, taken-for-granted, assumed, unquestioned, unexamined, unchallenged acceptance of the belief that the world as it looks to men is the only world, that the way of dealing with it which men have created is the only way, that the values which men have evolved are the only ones, that the way sex looks to men is the only way it can look to anyone, that what men think about what women are like is the only way to think about what women are like.[2]

Let's begin by considering the term "man." The *American Heritage Dictionary* gives the following definition:

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1. An adult male human being, as distinguished from a female. 2. Any human being, regardless of sex or age; a member of the human race; a person.... 5. A male human being endowed with such qualities as courage, strength, and fortitude, considered characteristic of manhood.

So we immediately see that terms that might be thought to be parallel are not. That the term "man" has much broader implications can be seen from the fact that this dictionary takes 35 lines to define "man" but only seven to define "woman." When using the term "man" in its generic sense to mean human, it is impossible to avoid implying male. Thus humanity comes to be thought of as being male.

As one feminist put it: "Imagine how convenient it would have been for racists to have a word that meant both white and black and juggle meanings the way sexists do."[3] "Furthermore, the double meaning of man works to men's advantage since they can pick the meaning which favors them."[4]

We also have the suffix "man" added to many words, to indicate person. Some feminists have started using "one" or "person" as a suffix to replace "man"; e.g., chairone or chairperson instead of chairman. It has also been suggested that we can replace "man" used as a suffix with "male" or "human" depending on whether usage is specific or generic.

Specific

From: man-child, man of means, man of the house, manhood
To: male-child, male of means, male of the house, malehood

Generic

From: mankind, manhunt, man-made, man-eating, manhole
To: humankind, humanhunt, human-made, human-eating, humanhole[4]

The dictionary holds the standard to which we refer for both meaning and usage. If we examine it closely, we find that it too perpetuates a sexist view, both in its definitions and in the examples it lists.

The example given to clarify the term "woman" is: "2. Women collectively, womankind: *Woman is fickle.*" The same dictionary has told us that manly characteristics are "courage, strength and fortitude." No such positive attributes were listed in the definition of woman.

"Womanish" is defined: "1. characteristic of woman, womanlike. 2. effeminate and weak."

"Male . . . 3. virile, manly."

"*Manful* suggests braveness, resoluteness or forcefulness. *Virile* stresses physical prowess or sexual potency."

"Army" is defined as "1. A large body of *men* organized and trained for warfare on land." (Italics mine.) So that's why the brass is against admitting women fully into their ranks!

In *Taber's Cyclopedic Medical Dictionary*[5] "homosexual" is defined merely as "an invert who is sexually attracted to another of the same sex." "Lesbian" is "*perversion* in which sexual desire of women is for one of their own kind." (Italics mine.)

In English, usage dictates that the masculine personal pronouns he, his, him and himself are at times used to include the feminine. Using these terms in the generic sense, it is impossible to rid them of the connotation male. So there have been several suggestions for new terminology that might be employed which would hopefully eliminate any sexist implication. The terms he and she could then be reserved for specific references.

| 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|
| Present Usage | Varda One | Mary Orovan |
| he and/or she | ve | co |
| his and/or her | vis | cos |
| him and/or her | ver | co |
| himself and/or herself | verself | coself |

| 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|
| Dana Densmore | Anonymous | Anonymous |
| she | they | hesh |
| heris | their | hiser |
| herm | them | himer |
| ---- | theirself | ---- |

In 1858 Charles C. Converse suggested "thon" to be used for he and she.

It is unlikely that these usages will replace the common ones because very few people are convinced of the necessity for this change.

One usage that is becoming increasingly popular is the replacement of Ms. for Miss or Mrs. The fact that Ms. is being used by banks and other conservative business establishments which haven't the slightest interest in women's liberation indicates the very real need for a term which does not necessitate knowing a person's marital status.

I recently asked a high school class why we have forefathers but no foremothers. One girl, indignant at my nitpicking, protested: "But it is *assumed* they were there." Indeed it is, but why are they never mentioned? Is it not also assumed that whatever our foremothers did was not worth talking about? It is such unarticulated assumptions that must be stated, so that we are at least aware of the sexist view implied.

Why do we say "now *that's* a man" when he does something heroic but not "now *that's* a woman" when she does the same thing?

Why are there loose women but no loose men?

Why is there a family man but no family woman?

Why don't men organize under "Another Father for Peace" or "Fathers for Clean Air" when they form lobby groups?

Why does one become a Radcliffe *girl* but a Harvard *man* even though female and male are the same age?

Why are there career girls but no career boys?

Why are a newly married couple pronounced man and wife rather than husband and wife or man and woman?

If women henpeck, why don't men roosterpeck?

As one small step toward desexifying the English language try saying or writing: sisters and brothers, she and he, wife and husband, women and men, female and male. Or try using woman to mean all people the way man is used: "No woman is an island." "Woman is born free and everywhere she is in chains." "All women are created equal." How would students react if you were to employ such usage in class?

"Language and our thought grooves are inextricably interrelated, are in a sense one and the same," Edward Sapir tells us.

The language we speak is not only a very important aspect of our culture but it is the medium through which that culture is transmitted. If, as Otto Jesperson, another eminent linguist, claims, English is "the most positively and expressly masculine" of all the languages he knew and if it is "the language of a grown-up man, with very little childish or feminine about it,"[6] we must be clearly conscious that the view of the world which is being transmitted is a sexist one.

Footnotes

All dictionary quotes, unless otherwise specified, are from the *American Heritage Dictionary*.

Most of the examples are from Varda One's "Manglish" column in *Everywoman*.

1. Leslie Spier, ed., *Language, Culture and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir* (Menasha, Wis.: Sapir Memorial Publications Fund, 1971), pp. 75-93.

2. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, eds., *Woman in Sexist Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), p. xvi.

3. Varda One, "Manglish," *Everywoman*, June 18, 1971, p. 5.

4. Varda One, "Manglish," *Everywoman*, Nov. 12, 1972, p. 16.

5. Clarence Taber, *Taber's Cyclopedic Medical Dictionary* (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co., 1970).

6. Otto Jesperson, *The Growth and Structure of the English Language* (New York: D. Appleton, 1923), pp. 1 ff.

* * * *

*"Don't call me lady," Jo-Ann Evans Gardner says. "I feel about that word the way a Black person feels about 'nigger' or 'boy.' And don't call us 'girls' either."*

# YOU ARE WHAT YOU SAY

by Robin Lakoff

"Women's language" is that pleasant (dainty?), euphemistic, never-aggressive way of talking we learned as little girls. Cultural bias was built into the language we were allowed to speak, the subjects we were allowed to speak about, and the ways we were spoken of. Having learned our linguistic lesson well, we go out in the world, only to discover that we are communicative cripples--damned if we do, and damned if we don't.

If we refuse to talk "like a lady," we are ridiculed and criticized for being unfeminine. ("She thinks like a man" is, at best, a left-handed compliment.) If we do learn all the fuzzy-headed, unassertive language of our sex, we are ridiculed for being unable to think clearly, unable to take part in a serious discussion, and therefore unfit to hold a position of power.

It doesn't take much of this for a woman to begin feeling she deserves such treatment because of inadequacies in her own intelligence and education.

"Women's language" shows up in all levels of English. For example, women are encouraged and allowed to make far more precise discriminations in naming colors than men do. Words like *mauve, beige, ecru, aquamarine, lavender,* and so on, are unremarkable in a woman's active vocabulary, but largely absent from that of most men. I know of no evidence suggesting that women actually *see* a wider range of colors than men do. It is simply that fine discriminations of this sort are relevant to women's vocabularies, but not to men's; to men, who control most of the interesting affairs of the world, such distinctions are trivial--irrelevant.

In the area of syntax, we find similar gender-related peculiarities of speech. There is one construction, in particular, that women use conversationally far more than men: the tag question. A tag is midway between an outright statement and a yes-no question; it is less assertive than the former, but more confident that the latter.

A *flat statement* indicates confidence in the speaker's knowledge and is fairly certain to be believed; a *question* indicates a lack of knowledge on some point and implies that the gap in the speaker's knowledge can and will be remedied by an answer. For example, if at a Little League game, I have had my glasses off, I can legitimately ask someone else: "Was the player out at third?" A *tag question,* being intermediate between statement and question, is used when the speaker is stating a claim, but

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lacks full confidence in the truth of that claim. So if I say, "Is Joan here?" I will probably not be surprised if my respondent answers "no"; but if I say, "Joan is here, isn't she?" instead, chances are I am already biased in favor of a positive answer, wanting only confirmation. I still want a response, but I have enough knowledge (or think I have) to predict that response. A tag question, then, might be thought of as a statement that doesn't demand to be believed by anyone but the speaker, a way of giving leeway, of not forcing the addressee to go along with the views of the speaker.

Another common use of the tag question is in small talk when the speaker is trying to elicit conversation: "Sure is hot here, isn't it?"

But in discussing personal feelings or opinions, only the speaker normally has any way of knowing the correct answer. Sentences such as "I have a headache, don't I?" are clearly ridiculous. But there are other examples where it is the speaker's opinions, rather than perceptions, for which corroboration is sought, as in "The situation in Southeast Asia is terrible, isn't it?"

While there are, of course, other possible interpretations of a sentence like this, one possibility is that the speaker has a particular answer in mine--"yes" or "no"--but is reluctant to state it baldly. This sort of tag question is much more apt to be used by women than by men in conversation. Why is this the case?

The tag question allows a speaker to avoid commitment, and thereby avoid conflict with the addressee. The problem is that, by so doing, speakers may also give the impression of not really being sure of themselves, or looking to the addressee for confirmation of their views. This uncertainty is reinforced in more subliminal ways, too. There is a peculiar sentence intonation pattern, used almost exclusively by women, as far as I know, which changes a declarative answer into a question. The effect of using the rising inflection typical of a yes-no question is to imply that the speaker is seeking confirmation, even though the speaker is clearly the only one who has the requisite information, which is why the question was put to her in the first place:

(Q) When will dinner be ready?
(A) Oh . . . around six o'clock. . . ?

It is as though the second speaker were saying, "Six o'clock--if that's okay with you, if you agree." The person being addressed is put in the position of having to provide confirmation. One likely consequence of this sort of speech pattern in a woman is that, often unbeknownst to herself, the speaker builds a reputation of tentativeness, and others will refrain from taking her seriously or trusting her with any real responsibilities, since she "can't make up her mind," and "isn't sure of herself."

Such idiosyncrasies may explain why women's language sounds much more "polite" than men's. It is polite to leave a decision open, not impose your mind, or views, or claims, on anyone else. So a tag question is a

kind of polite statement, in that it does not force agreement or belief on the addressee. In the same way, a request is a polite command, in that it does not force obedience on the addressee, but rather suggests something be done as a favor to the speaker. A clearly stated order implies a threat of certain consequences if it is not followed, and--even more impolite--implies that the speaker is in a superior position and able to enforce the order. By couching wishes in the form of a request, on the other hand, a speaker implies that if the request is not carried out, only the speaker will suffer; noncompliance cannot harm the addressee. So the decision is really left up to the addressee. The distinction becomes clear in these examples:

Close the door.
Please close the door.
Will you close the door?
Will you please close the door?
Won't you close the door?

In the same ways as words and speech patterns used *by* women undermine her image, those used *to describe* women make matters even worse. Often a word may be used of both men and women (and perhaps of things as well); but when it is applied to women, it assumes a special meaning that, by implication rather than outright assertion, is derogatory to women as a group.

The use of euphemisms has this effect. A euphemism is a substitute for a word that has acquired a bad connotation by association with something unpleasant or embarrassing. But almost as soon as the new word comes into common usage, it takes on the same old bad connotations, since feelings about the things or people referred to are not altered by a change of name; thus new euphemisms must be constantly found.

There is one euphemism for *woman* still very much alive. The word, of course, is *lady*. *Lady* has a masculine counterpart, namely *gentleman*, occasionally shortened to *gent*. But for some reason *lady* is very much commoner than *gent(leman)*.

The decision to use *lady* rather than *woman*, or vice versa, may considerably alter the sense of a sentence, as the following examples show:

(a) A woman (lady) I know is a dean at Berkeley.
(b) A woman (lady) I know makes amazing things out of shoelaces and old boxes.

The use of *lady* in (a) imparts a frivolous, or nonserious, tone to the sentence: the matter under discussion is not one of great moment. Similarly, in (b), using *lady* here would suggest that the speaker considered the "amazing things" not to be serious art, but merely a hobby or an aberration. If *woman* is used, she might be a serious sculptor. To say *lady doctor* is very condescending, since no one ever says *gentleman doctor* or even *man doctor*. For example, mention in the San Francisco *Chronicle* of January 31, 1972, of Madalyn Murray O'Hair as the *lady atheist* reduces her

position to that of scatterbrained eccentric. Even *woman atheist* is scarcely defensible: sex is irrelevant to her philosophical position.

Many women argue that, on the other hand, *lady* carries with it overtones recalling the age of chivalry: conferring exalted stature on the person so referred to. This makes the term seem polite at first, but we must also remember that these implications are perilous: they suggest that a "lady" is helpless, and cannot do things by herself.

*Lady* can also be used to infer frivolousness, as in titles of organizations. Those that have a serious purpose (not merely that of enabling "the ladies" to spend time with one another) cannot use the word *lady* in their titles, but less serious ones may. Compare the *Ladies' Auxiliary* of a men's group, or the *Thursday Evening Ladies' Browning and Garden Society* with *Ladies' Liberation* or *Ladies' Strike for Peace.*

What is curious about this split is that *lady* is in origin a euphemism--a substitute that puts a better face on something people find uncomfortable--for *woman.* What kind of euphemism is it that subtly denigrates the people to whom it refers? Perhaps *lady* functions as a euphemism for *woman* because it does not contain the sexual implications present in *woman:* it is not "embarrassing" in that way. If this is so, we may expect that, in the future, *lady* will replace woman as the primary word for the human female, since *woman* will have become too blatantly sexual. That this distinction is already made in some contexts at least is shown in the following examples, where you can try replacing *woman* with *lady:*

(a) She's only twelve, but she's already a woman.
(b) After ten years in jail, Harry wanted to find a woman.
(c) She's my woman, see, so don't mess around with her.

Another common substitute for *woman* is *girl.* One seldom hears a man past the age of adolescence referred to as a boy, save in expressions like "going out with the boys," which are meant to suggest an air of adolescent frivolity and irresponsibility. But women of all ages are "girls": one can have a man--not a boy--Friday, but only a girl--never a woman or even a lady--Friday; women have girlfriends, but men do not--in a nonsexual sense--have boyfriends. It may be that this use of *girl* is euphemistic in the same way the use of *lady* is: in stressing the idea of immaturity, it removes the sexual connotations lurking in *woman. Girl* brings to mind irresponsibility: you don't send a girl to do a woman's errand (or even, for that matter, a boy's errand). She is a person who is both too immature and too far from real life to be entrusted with responsibilities or with decisions of any serious or important nature.

Now let's take a pair of words which, in terms of the possible relationships in an earlier society, were simple male-female equivalents, analogous to *bull:cow.* Suppose we find that, for independent reasons, society has changed in such a way that the original meanings now are irrelevant. Yet the words have not been discarded, but have acquired new meanings, metaphorically related to their original senses. But suppose

these new metaphorical uses are no longer parallel to each other. By seeing where the parallelism breaks down, we discover something about the different roles played by men and women in the culture. One good example of such a divergence through time is found in the pair *master:mistress*. Once used with reference to one's power over servants, these words have become unusable today in their original master-servant sense as the relationship has become less prevalent in our society. But the words are still common.

Unless used with reference to animals, *master* now generally refers to a man who has acquired consummate ability in some field, normally non-sexual. But its feminine counterpart cannot be used this way. It is practically restricted to its sexual sense of "paramour." We start out with two terms, both roughly paraphrasable as "one who has power over another." But the masculine form, once one person is no longer able to have absolute power over another, becomes usable metaphorically in the sense of "having power over *something*." *Master* requires as its object only the name of some activity, something inanimate and abstract. But *mistress* requires a masculine noun in the possessive to precede it. One cannot say: "Rhonda is a mistress." One must be *someone's* mistress. A man is defined by what he does, a woman by her sexuality, that is, in terms of one particular aspect of her relationship to men. It is one thing to be an *old master* like Hans Holbein, and another to be an *old mistress*.

The same is true of the words *spinster* and *bachelor*--gender words for "one who is not married." The resemblance ends with the definition. While *bachelor* is a neuter term, often used as a compliment, *spinster* normally is used pejoratively, with connotations of prissiness, fussiness, and so on. To be a bachelor implies that one has the choice of marrying or not, and this is what makes the idea of a bachelor existence attractive, in the popular literature. He has been pursued and has successfully eluded his pursuers. But a spinster is one who has not been pursued, or at least not seriously. She is old, unwanted goods. The metaphorical connotations of *bachelor* generally suggest sexual freedom; of *spinster*, puritanism or celibacy.

These examples could be multiplied. It is generally considered a *faux pas*, in society, to congratulate a woman on her engagement, while it is correct to congratulate her fiancé. Why is this? The reason seems to be that it is impolite to remind people of things that may be uncomfortable to them. To congratulate a woman on her engagement is really to say, "Thank goodness! You had a close call!" For the man, on the other hand, there was no such danger. His choosing to marry is viewed as a good thing, but not something essential.

The linguistic double standard holds throughout the life of the relationship. After marriage, bachelor and spinster become man and wife, not man and woman. The woman whose husband dies remains "John's widow"; John, however, is never "Mary's widower."

Finally, why is it that salesclerks and others are so quick to call women customers "dear," honey," and other terms of endearment they really have no business using? A male customer would never put up with it. But women, like children, are supposed to enjoy these endearments, rather than being offended by them.

In more ways than one, it's time to speak up.

# ALTERNATIVES TO SEXIST LANGUAGE

| Sexist | Better or Non-Sexist |
|---|---|
| man | person<br>human being<br>people<br>women and men |
| manpower | human energy |
| man-made | manufactured<br>made by men and women |
| forefathers or fathers | precursors<br>ancestors<br>forepersons |
| brotherhood | amity<br>unity<br>community<br>the community of people |
| Miss<br>Mrs.<br>Mrs. Jack Jones | Ms.<br>Ms. Mary Jones<br>Mary Jones |
| airman, fireman, etc. | airperson, fireperson, salesperson |
| chairman | chairperson |
| lady<br>girl (as synonym for adult female)<br>the little woman<br>the weaker sex<br>little old lady | woman<br>person<br>individual |
| authoress, aviatrix, heiress | author, aviator, heir<br>(don't need an "ess" ending) |
| lady lawyer, lady doctor | lawyer, doctor |
| man and his world | people and their world |
| mankind | humankind |
| the farmer and his wife | the farmers, the farming couple |

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| Sexist | Better or Non-Sexist |
|---|---|
| Ted Johnson and his wife | Mary and Ted Johnson (or reverse) or Mary Jones and Ted Johnson (or reverse) |
| the office girl | the secretary<br>the women in the office<br>Mary or Ms. Jones<br>the clerical staff person |
| mailman | mail person<br>mail carrier |
| chick, broad, babe | woman, person |
| "Mrs. Mary Kyle, wife of Earle Kyle and editor-publisher of the Twin Cities Courier" | "Ms. Mary Kyle (or Mary Kyle), editor-publisher of the Twin Cities Courier" |
| spinster, old maid | woman or unmarried woman |
| directed by the wife of Mao-Tse Tung | directed by Chiang Ching, wife of Mao-Tse Tung |
| DFL ladies | DFL women<br>(ladies is a value-laden word) |
| manhood | personhood |
| proving his manliness | proving his humanness |
| women's lib<br>women's libbers<br>libbers | women's liberation, feminist movement<br>women's liberationists, feminists<br>women in the women's movement |
| dame | woman, person, individual<br>(or her name) |
| gal | woman, person, individual<br>(or her name) |
| the lovely, vivacious Mrs. Gandhi | Ms. Gandhi |
| Doris Lessing is an excellent British woman novelist | Doris Lessing is an excellent British novelist |
| Amelia Earhart did what few people--men or women--could do | Amelia Earhart did what few people could do |

| Sexist | Better or Non-Sexist |
| --- | --- |
| Everybody did his work | Everybody did his/her (or her/his work)<br>Everybody did their work<br>(Equality outweighs grammar) |
| The student . . . he | The student . . . he/she (or she/he) |

# THE WORDS THAT MAKE WOMEN DISAPPEAR

by Alma Graham

Mailman, fireman, salesman, the man in the street--isn't it about time mankind included women too?

Imagine for a moment that it's spring or summer and you are out shopping in a cool dress that happens to fit. Suddenly lewd remarks, accompanied by whistles and "Hey, what a *broad!*" come from men in a truck or from a male passer-by.

Later that evening, after your husband's boss has arrived for dinner, you emerge from the kitchen to greet him and hear: "Ah, and this must be the *little woman!*"

These incidents are not far-fetched; unfortunately there is a whole vocabulary of words society substitutes for "woman"--words that humiliate and dehumanize women. We've been called "chicks" approvingly and "hens" with scorn; "shrews" one minute and "tomatoes" the next. We've been described as "buxom blondes," "fiery redheads" and "pert brunettes." We've also been compared to men as though they were the standard, as in the so-called compliment "You think just like a man." We've been condemned as "fishwives"--or labeled just plain "cute"--when we're angry. And we've been rendered invisible in supposedly inclusive words like chair*man*, congress*man* and spokes*man*.

Who's to blame for ridiculing and typecasting women? Prime candidates in my mind are the sexist language we've been accustomed to and those of us who continue to speak it.

What is sexist language? It's language that excludes women or gives unequal treatment to women and men. It's language that tells a woman she is two things: She is a man and she is not a man. If a woman is swept off a ship into the water, the cry is "Man overboard!" If she is killed by a hit-and-run driver, the charge is "manslaughter." But if she encounters visible or invisible signs that say "Man Wanted" or "Men Only" (under Federal guidelines, visible signs give her the legal right to complain), she knows that the exclusion does not apply to plants or animals or inanimate objects but to female human beings.

While watching a film in nursery school on primitive people, a three-year-old girl was told that "*man* invented tools" and "*man* discovered fire." Later she asked her mother, "Mommy, weren't there any *women* in those days?"

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A very good question, and one that prompted her mother to do some thinking about just how unfair to women the English language is. After all, if all human beings are consistently referred to as "men," then a woman is automatically denied equal status.

And in employment practices, although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination based on sex, only in recent years has an effort been made to eliminate sexist labels from job titles. Most newspapers now have changed their job listings from the segregated "Help Wanted--Male" and "Help Wanted--Female" to a single, nonsegregated list, but even today such designations as "draftsman" and "repairman" creep into the want ads.

Yet gender-free job titles can make a difference. When the Los Angeles City Council approved a plan to abolish the titles of "policeman" and "policewoman," replacing them with the classification *police officer*, women on the force became eligible for promotions to ranks for which they had been ineligible in the past.

As the little girl in nursery school noticed, "man" is one of the most overworked nouns in the English language. It is used to mean a person, worker, member, agent, candidate, representative, voter, even astronaut. Consider the congressman. He is a man of the people. To prove that he's the best man for the job, he takes his case to the man in the street. He is a champion of the working man. He speaks up for the little man. He remembers the forgotten man. And he believes in the principle, "One man, one vote."

If we agree to stop overworking the word "man," what other words are we going to use in its place? The cardinal rule is simple: Be inclusive. When referring to the human species, we can say *people, human beings* or *men and women.* For "mankind" we can substitute *humankind, humanity* or *the human race.* "Primitive man" can be changed to *primitive people;* "prehistoric men" can become *prehistoric human beings;* "man's conquest of space" can be *the human conquest of space.*

Where job titles are concerned, the major rule is: Be specific. Name the occupation by the work performed, not by the gender of the worker. "Mailmen," "firemen" and "cameramen" are *mail carriers, fire fighters* and *camera operators.* A "workman" is a *worker,* a "newsman" is a *reporter,* a "foreman" is a *supervisor* and a "watchman" is a *guard.*

Whether a male or a female does the job shouldn't affect its title. Instead of saying "steward" and "stewardess," we should use the inclusive term *flight attendant*; and instead of saying "maid" or "janitor," we can specify whether we want a house or office *cleaner* or a *building superintendent* or *custodian.*

But the pronoun is the real problem. How do we avoid referring to the unknown singular subject as "he"? Our language needs a common pronoun, but none of the various ones suggested has yet shown signs of gaining acceptance. The likeliest candidate is already in the language, at least on the level

of informal speech. This is the quasi-singular "they," as in "Everybody will wear what *they* want to wear." Often you can reword a sentence to avoid singular pronouns altogether. Thus, instead of saying, "If the student practices this exercise, he can learn it," you can say, "If *students* practice this exercise, *they* can learn it."

Finally, once we have included both females and males in our language, we should remember to treat them equally. Instead of saying: "Henry Harris is an up-and-coming lawyer and his wife Ann is a striking brunette," we might say either: "The Harrises are an attractive couple. Henry is a handsome blond and Ann is a striking brunette," or "The Harrises are highly respected in their fields. Ann is an accomplished musician and Henry is an up-and-coming lawyer."

Equal treatment also should be accorded women of achievement. Consider a headline that appeared in *The New York Times* a few years ago: "Writer's Wife Becomes Mayor for Beverly Hills." This "wife"--Phyllis Seaton--had been the first woman ever elected to the Beverly Hills City Council and the first female stage manager on Broadway, but even when she became mayor she remained a "writer's wife."

In 1976 the *Times* updated its *Manual of Style and Usage*, cautioning writers that "in referring to women, we should avoid words or phrases that seem to imply that the *Times* speaks with a purely masculine voice." But despite this resolve, a front-page story that same year, reporting on a study of retirement income, cited statistics on a "married retiree and his wife"--without any indication that some married retirees might have husbands!

Wives. Ladies. Girls. A man's property. Someone fragile and polite. An innocent. Not only has a woman been defined as something less than a lady and something more than a girl; she has been called fickle and foolish, silly and superficial and, above all, weak. In our language the qualities of the adult--strength, courage, will, wisdom and self-reliance--have been given exclusively to the male. Thus it is no wonder that until recently the word "woman" was avoided as though it were something bad to be and that "girl" is like calling a Black man a "boy"--it makes the adult unimportant and immature.

Now increasing numbers of women are showing a new pride in their adulthood. They do not like to be called "honey" or "dear" by male grocers or bank tellers who hardly know them. They do not like to be called an "old maid" if they're single or a "housewife" if they're not. They are not "girls," "gals," "wives," "ladies" or "the fair sex." They are *women*--and are beginning to be happy about the fact.

*American men live and labor under a double handicap: an inborn biological weakness and the unrealistic expectations of our society. But there are ways in which we can help this endangered species. . . .*

# WHY MEN DIE YOUNGER

by Albert Rosenfeld

Condensed from *Star*, Sunday Magazine of the *Kansas City Star* (10-15-72), Kansas City.

Is there an American male who still clings stubbornly to St. Peter's conviction that woman is "the weaker vessel"? Let him browse through a recent report called "Leading Components of Upturn in Mortality for Men," issued by the National Center for Health Statistics.

Males do start out in this country with a numerical advantage: 105 boy babies are born for every 100 girls. But they die off so much faster that, in the population at large, it's females by 100 to 95. In later life, moreover, males fare even worse. In the age range from 65 to 74, they are outnumbered by 100 to 79. Over age 75, there are only 65 men for every 100 women.

Why is the nursery almost the only place where males outnumber females? Because males maintain a steadily higher mortality rate at all times of life, from childhood through old age.

Paradoxically, the male's shortcomings reside in part in the very characteristics which always seemed to prove his biological superiority. A man, on the average, has a bigger, more muscular frame. He weighs more. He can run faster and carry heavier loads. Because he uses up more energy, though, his lungs must take in more oxygen, his heart must pump harder, his blood must contain a greater number of red cells to carry more oxygen to more body cells--each of which works at a somewhat faster pace than the cells in a woman's body. In a word, his metabolic rate is higher; he burns faster.

Though females get sick more often, they also recover more often. Statistics show that males succumb to every major disease more readily than females do. Moreover, males are heir to dozens of genetic diseases which females hardly ever get. They are more susceptible to arthritis, gallstones and migraine headaches (name the ailment, and men probably have more of it). When nutrition is poor, boys starve sooner than girls do. Girls are better able to endure shock, exposure, fatigue.

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Thus the relative endurance and abundance of women are due at least in part to what anthropologist Ashley Montagu has for years been calling "the natural superiority of women." But they are also due in no small measure to cultural factors that render boys and men more vulnerable to a whole spectrum of pressures. Not only does the male's sex put him at a biological disadvantage, but his assigned sex role--what people expect of him--puts him at a psychological disadvantage as well. This in turn accentuates his biological handicap.

A boy always has to be doing something to prove masculinity. A girl just is. Tom Sawyer walks precariously along the top of the picket fence to show off for Becky. All she has to do is sit on the porch and be impressed (or not be). For a boy with an already insecure ego, it doesn't help to feel his father's disappointment in his failure to make the team. A young man in any way doubtful about his sexual prowess is made doubly anxious by the boasting--about real or imaginary exploits--of his friends.

All through his life, the male competes--to achieve, to make money, to acquire prestige and status, to "be a man." His virility is always on the line. He drinks greater quantities of alcohol and contributes most of the statistics to the alcoholic tables. He smokes more, and gets more lung cancer--and also more of almost every other kind of cancer. Though women are not immune to heart attacks or stomach ulcers, these are overwhelmingly masculine afflictions. Among stutterers, it's males by 5 to 1.

Women may be "more emotional," but more men are emotionally disturbed. (All over the world, more males than females have nervous breakdowns, more males than females commit suicide.) Biology again? A weaker nervous system? Perhaps. But it may be that women's very freedom to be emotional, to show and express their feelings, permits them to let off steam, while men are expected to sit on their emotions. No safety valve--hence, bang!

Moreover, when men are subjected to stressful circumstances, they react with greater anxiety and insecurity. In bad times, for instance, a man may lose his job. So may a woman, of course, and when she does, she loses her income, too. But a man loses more than just that; he loses his all-important image as provider, and his ego is dealt a severe blow.

All this is not to say that women have an easier life. What they do have is better survival odds. And most women, once they understand this, would wish to improve the odds for their men as well. No one looks forward to loneliness at the end of life.

What then, can we do to begin reversing the pattern of premature male deaths? We cannot, of course, alter the male's biological handicaps. We can, however, do a great deal to ease the cultural pressures acting upon him. First, we must recognize how drastically what men do has changed in recent years. Second, we must start acting on this recognition.

Evolution programmed into man's genes the qualities he needed for his ancient roles as provider (hunter) and defender (warrior). These qualities

have served him well throughout history. He had to be swift, strong, durable and competitive to survive, to protect hearth and home, to feed his mate and offspring.

How all that has changed! There aren't very many of the old challenges left anymore. About the only way the briefcase-carrying commuter can demonstrate heroism is by outsmarting someone who is trying to catch the same taxi. Even on the farm, machines do most of the heavy work. In business, the emphasis has switched to such qualities as the ability to get along with others, to keep employees happy, to maintain an intelligent concern for the community and environment.

Yet society trains a male for the same, no-longer-existing tasks. As a result, he is never sure what he's supposed to do or be. At a cocktail party, he is likely to be uncommunicative and drink too much. At home, he is puzzled and frustrated at his inability to provide the tender understanding and sensitivity that his wife and child increasingly expect of him. Because art, music and poetry were avoided in his youth as sissy subjects, he now feels uncultured. In a word, he feels cheated because the definition of manhood has changed, and nobody prepared him for it. The resulting pressures and frustrations literally make him sick and shorten his life.

To remedy the situation, we must take a hard look at some of our basic biases about masculinity:

Aggression and violence. A boy should learn early, just as girls do, that there are ways to settle quarrels without fists or sticks or stones. He should know how to defend himself (so should girls), but he shouldn't be pushed into fighting, or made to feel he's a sissy if he doesn't like to fight.

Sports. Too many boys are taught that it's effeminate to prefer poetry and music to say, fishing or football. Certainly, sports constitute a marvelous outlet for male energy--and female energy, too. But individuals differ radically. If a boy prefers to pursue non-athletic interests--as long as he's encouraged to get all the exercise his good health requires--he should not be made to feel less manly for it.

Expression of feelings. A male should not be required, just because he is a male, to keep a constant cork on his emotions--though that's what all his popular movie and television heroes, from John Wayne to James Bond, still do. Why shouldn't a male of any age demonstrate affection openly when he truly, warmly feels that way? Why should it be unmanly to weep when tragedy strikes, to cry out in rage at disaster, or indignation at indignities? A boy who can express himself openly is less likely to explode into violence, while the man who works at staying cool all the time may wind up unable to care about anyone.

Marriage roles. Now that many women *want* to lead more varied and interesting lives and now that men are learning to admit what they've always really known--that a woman is just as likely as a man to be bright,

competent, adventurous--both sexes can begin to share the joys and burdens formerly considered the unique province of one or the other. Women will earn more of the money and see more of the world outside the home. Men will have more time to indulge in the pleasures of fatherhood. They'll have time, too, to help their wives inculcate in their own children sex roles and attitudes that are more in keeping with current realities.

Competitive drives. In a computerized world, where "man's work" may be vastly different from what it once was, why force the ancient roles on him? And why, on a personal level, continue the competition for prestige and money after the family's needs are fulfilled? Continuing to work at something challenging, especially as it contributes to your own and other people's enjoyment and fulfillment, is of course, healthy, rewarding, and can add to life's happy years. What shortens them is competition-by-habit, competition that leads to nowhere by anxiety. Relieved of this self-imposed pressure, men are more likely to drink less, smoke less and, in general, be more sensible about taking care of themselves.

These suggestions do not constitute a program to weaken the male sex but rather to strengthen men's *humanity*. Men who succeed in following them will not only have a marked effect on the mortality statistics; they will be much more fun for their wives and children--and grandchildren--to have around during those extra years.

# EXCERPTS FROM *TRAINING THE WOMAN TO KNOW HER PLACE*

by Sandra L. Bem and Daryl J. Bem

America's sex-role ideology is an unconscious ideology about the nature of the female sex, an ideology which constricts the emerging self-image of the female child and the nature of her aspirations from the very first; an ideology which leads even those Americans who agree that a black skin should not uniquely qualify its owner for janitorial or domestic service to assume that the possession of a uterus uniquely qualifies its owner for precisely such service.

Consider, for example, the 1968 student rebellion at Columbia University. Students from the radical left took over some administration buildings in the name of equalitarian ideals which they accused the university of flouting. Here were the most militant spokesmen one could hope to find in the cause of equalitarian ideals. But no sooner had they occupied the buildings than the male militants blandly turned to their sisters-in-arms and assigned them the task of preparing the food, while they-the-menfolk would presumably plan further strategy. The reply these males received was the reply they deserved, and the fact that domestic tasks behind the barricades were desegregated across the sex line that day is an everlasting tribute to the class consciousness of the ladies of the left....

When does this ideology begin in the life of a young girl? How does it limit her horizons so that she never aspires to be a Senator or an astronaut, but only to marry one?

From the day a newborn child is dressed in pink, she is given "special" treatment. Perhaps because they are thought to be more fragile, six-month-old infant girls are actually touched, spoken to, and hovered over more by their mothers while they are playing than are infant boys (Goldberg & Lewis, 1969). Research even shows that mothers smile, touch, and talk to their female infants more than their male infants as early as two days of age! Differential treatment of the sexes can't start much earlier than that!

As children grow older, boys are encouraged to be aggressive, competitive, and independent, whereas girls continue to be rewarded, especially by their fathers, for being passive and dependent (Barry, Bacon & Child, 1957; Sears, Maccoby & Lewis, 1957). Little boys climb trees and get dirty; little girls are expected to stay in the yard and keep their dresses clean. Little boys play with water pistols and fire trucks; little girls play with dolls and tea sets. Little "men" fight back; little girls cry and run. Little boys visit daddy's office while little girls help mommy bake a cake. And

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we know of at least one little girl whose goal of becoming a doctor was quickly "corrected" by her first grade teacher; every little boy in the class got to play the part of a doctor in the class play, every little girl got to play the role of nurse.

As children begin to read, the storybook characters become the images and the models that little boys and little girls aspire to become. What kind of role does the female play in the world of children's literature? The fact is that there aren't even very many females in that world. One survey, reported in the Book Review section of the *N.Y. Times* (Fisher, 1970), found that five times as many males as females appear in the title; the fantasy world of Dr. Seuss is almost entirely male; and even animals and machines are represented as male. When females do appear, they are noteworthy for what they do not do. They do not drive cars and they seldom even ride bicycles. (In one story in which a girl does ride a bicycle, it's a two-seater and the girl is seated behind the boy!) Boys climb trees and fish and roll in the leaves and skate; girls watch or fall down or get dizzy. Girls are never doctors. And although they may be nurses or librarians or teachers, they are never principals. There seems to be only one children's book about mothers who work, and it concludes that what mothers love "best of all" is "being your very own mommy and coming home to you." And although this is no doubt true of many [daddies] as well, no book about working fathers has ever found it necessary to apologize in quite the same way.

As children grow older, more explicit sex-role training is introduced. Boys are encouraged to take more of an interest in mathematics and science. Boys, not girls, are given chemistry sets and microscopes for Christmas. Moreover, all children quickly learn that mommy is proud to be a moron when it comes to mathematics and science, whereas daddy is a little ashamed if he doesn't know all about these things. When a young boy returns from school all excited about biology, he is almost certain to be encouraged to think of becoming a physician. A girl with similar enthusiasm is told that she might want to consider nurse's training later so she can have "an interesting job to fall back upon in case--God forbid--she ever needs to support herself." A very different kind of encouragement. And any girl who doggedly persists in her enthusiasm for science is likely to find her parents as horrified by the prospect of a permanent love affair with physics as they would be either by the prospect of an interracial marriage or, horror or horrors, no marriage at all.

These socialization practices quickly take their toll. By nursery school age, for example, boys are already asking more questions about how and why things work (Smith, 1933). In first and second grade, when asked to suggest ways of improving various toys, boys do better on the fire truck and girls do better on the nurse's kit; but by third grade, boys do better regardless of the toy presented (Torrance, 1962).

In elementary school, with its large number of female teachers and its emphasis on being "good" or docile, girls have a momentary advantage; pleasing the teacher and doing good schoolwork are more appropriate for

girls than for boys. Not surprisingly, girls surpass boys in nearly all of their schoolwork in the early grades. And although some of this difference could be due to innate differences in the developmental timetables between boys and girls, research shows that young children do regard school as "feminine" (Kagan, 1964b).

Soon, however, school becomes more in tune with the earlier socialization of the boys. They are now reminded that doing well will contribute to their later vocational success, and they continue to receive special encouragement in mathematics and science. By the ninth grade, 25% of the boys, but only 3% of the girls are considering careers in science or engineering (Flanagan, unpublished: cited in Kagan, 1964a). When they apply for college, boys and girls are about equal on verbal aptitude tests, but boys score significantly higher on mathematical aptitude tests--about 60 points higher on the College Board examinations, for example (Brown, 1965, p. 162). Moreover, girls improve their mathematical performance if the problems are simply reworded so that they deal with cooking and gardening, even though the abstract reasoning required for solution remains exactly the same (Milton, 1958). Clearly, the girl's confidence in her ability to tackle a mathematical problem has been seriously undermined.

But these effects in mathematics and science are only part of the story. A girl's long training in passivity and dependence appears to exact an even higher toll from her overall motivation to achieve, to search for new and independent ways of doing things, and to welcome the challenge of new and unsolved problems. In one study, for example, elementary school girls were more likely to try solving a puzzle by imitating an adult (McDavid, 1959). In another puzzle-solving study, young girls asked for help and approval from adults more frequently than the boys; and, when given the opportunity to return to puzzles a second time, the girls were more likely to rework those they had already solved, whereas the boys were more likely to try puzzles they had been unable to solve previously (Crandall & Rabson, 1960). A girl's sigh of relief is almost audible when she marries and retires from the outside world of novel and unsolved problems.

This, of course, is the most conspicuous outcome of all: the majority of America's women become full-time homemakers. And of those who work, 78% end up in dead-end jobs as clerical workers, service workers, factory workers, or sales clerks. They do not pursue challenging or even well-paying careers. This "homogenization" of America's women is the major consequence of our sex-role ideology.

The important point is not that the role of homemaker is necessarily inferior, but rather that our society is managing to consign a large segment of its population to the role of homemaker--either with or without a dead-end job--solely on the basis of sex just as inexorably as it has in the past consigned the individual with the black skin to the role of janitor or domestic. The important point is that in spite of their unique identities, the majority of America's women end up in virtually the same role.

Consider the following "predictability test." When a baby boy is born, it is difficult to predict what he will be doing 25 years later. We cannot say whether he will be an artist, a doctor, or a guidance counselor because he will be permitted to develop and to fulfill his own unique potential, particularly if he is white and middle-class. But if that same newborn child is a girl, we can usually predict with confidence how she is likely to be spending her time 25 years later. Her individuality doesn't have to be considered; it is irrelevant.

The socialization of the American male has closed off certain options for him too. Men are discouraged from developing certain desirable traits such as tenderness and sensitivity just as surely as women are discouraged from being assertive and "too bright." Young boys are encouraged to be incompetent at cooking and child care just as surely as young girls are urged to be incompetent at mathematics and science. The elimination of sex-role stereotyping implies that each individual would be encouraged to "do his own thing." Men and women would no longer be stereotyped by society's definitions of masculine and feminine. If sensitivity, emotionality, and warmth are desirable human characteristics, then they are desirable for men as well as for women. If independence, assertiveness, and serious intellectual commitment are desirable human characteristics, then they are desirable for women as well as for men. And, it is undoubtedly true that many men today would have been more fulfilled if their socialization had permitted them to engage in activity currently stereotyped as female--child care, for example.

Thus, it is true that a man's options are also limited by our society's sex-role ideology, but as the "predictability test" reveals, it is still the women in our society whose identity is rendered irrelevant by America's socialization practices.

## QUOTABLE QUOTES

"There are only two days of your life when you have Joy of your wife: at her wedding and at her funeral."

"It is hard to find a woman who will not bring you a dowry, but will make herself useful."
--Greek Poet Hippsanah (540 B.C.)

"Women are to be talked to as below men and above children."
--Lord Chesterfield (1748)

"Women were created for the comfort of men."
--Hewell, Familiar Letters: To Sergeant D.

"I expect woman will be the last thing civilized by man."
--George Meredith, *Richard Leverel*, Ch. 1

"Man's work lasts till set of sun; Woman's work is never done."
--Unknown (Roxvurghe Ballads; iii 302 C. 1655)

"Women are the Gate of Hell."
--St. Jerome

"There is no evil so terrible as a woman."
--Euripides

"Women are not a hobby--they're a calamity."
--Alexander Brailowsky (1931)

"Woman is made of glass."
--Cervantes, *Don Quixote*

"A wise woman is twice a fool."
--Erasmus

"I thank thee, O Lord, that thou has not created me a woman."
--Daily Orthodox Jewish Prayer (for a male)

"Regard the society of women as necessary unpleasantness of social life, and avoid it as much as possible."
--Count Leo Tolstoy

"A man in general is better pleased when he has a good dinner than when his wife talks Greek."
--Samuel Johnson

"The woman's fundamental status is that of her husband's wife, the mother of his children."
--Talcott Parsons

"We have got to understand women the way they do each other. We must learn to use a woman's inconsistency as the key to approaching her."

--Charles Revlon (of the Revlon Company)

"Women are the sex which believes that if you charge it, it's not spending; and if you add a cherry to it, it's not intoxicating."

--Bill Vaughan

"The female of the species is more deadly than the male."

--Rudyard Kipling

"Woman is the source of all evil. Her love is to be dreaded more than the hatred of men."

--Socrates

"Likewise, ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands...."

--Saint Peter (1 Peter 3:1)

"Every woman should be overwhelmed with shame at the thought that she is a woman."

--St. Clement of Alexandria

"Were our state a pure democracy, there would still be excluded from our deliberations...women who, to prevent deprivation of morals and ambiguity of issues, should not mix promiscuously in gatherings of men."

--Thomas Jefferson

"If a woman grows weary and at last dies from childbearing, it matter not. Let her only die from bearing, she is there to do it."

--Martin Luther

"To be beautiful is enough! If a woman can do that well, who shall demand more from her? You don't want a rose to sing."

--Thackeray

"A woman who is guided by the head and not the heart is a social pestilence; she has all the defects of the passionate and affectionate woman, with none of her compensations; she is without pity, without love, without virtue, without sex."

--Honoré de Balzac

"Man is willing to accept woman as an equal, as a man in skirts, as an angel, a devil, a baby-face, a machine, an instrument, a bosom, a womb, a pair of legs, a servant, an

encyclopedia, an ideal or an obscenity; the only thing he won't accept her as, is a human being, a real human being of the female sex."

--D. H. Lawrence

"One must have loved a woman of genius to comprehend the happiness of loving a fool."

--Talleyrand

AND

A woman's place is in the home/ Housewives are such dull people/ Women's talk is all chatter/ Intelligent women are emasculating/ If you're so smart why aren't you married?/ Can you type?/ If you want to make decisions in this family, go out and earn a paycheck yourself/ Working women are unfeminine/ A smart woman never shows her brains/ It is a woman's duty to make herself attractive/ All women think about are clothes/ Women are always playing hard to get/ No man likes an easy woman/ Women should be struck regularly, like gongs/ Women are always crying about something/ Women don't understand the value of a dollar/ Don't worry your pretty little head about it/ Dumb broad/ It is glorious to be the mother of all mankind/ A woman's work is never done/ All you do is cook and clean and sit around all day/ Women are only interested in trapping some man/ A woman who can't hold a man isn't much of a woman/ Women hate to be with other women/ Women are always off chattering with each other/ Some of my best friends are women....

*A bright woman is caught in a double bind. In achievement-oriented situations she worries not only about failure but also about success.*

# AN EXCERPT FROM "FAIL: BRIGHT WOMEN"

by Matina Horner

Eleanor Maccoby has suggested that the girl who is motivated to achieve is defying conventions of what girls "should" do. As a result, the intellectual woman pays a price in anxiety. Margaret Mead concurs, noting that intense intellectual striving can be viewed as "competitively aggressive behavior." And of course Freud thought that the whole essence of femininity lay in repressing aggressiveness (and hence intellectuality).

A bright woman is caught in a double bind. In testing and other achievement-oriented situations she worries not only about failure, but also about success. If she fails, she is not living up to her own standards of performance; if she succeeds she is not living up to societal expectations about the female role. Men in our society do not experience this kind of ambivalence, because they are not only permitted but actively encouraged to do well.

The motive to avoid success. I define it as the fear that success in competitive achievement situations will lead to negative consequences, such as unpopularity and loss of femininity.

I administered the standard TAT achievement motivation measures to a sample of 90 girls and 88 boys, all undergraduates at the University of Michigan. In addition, I asked each to tell a story based on the clue described before: "After first-term finals, John (Anne) finds himself (herself) at the top of his (her) medical-school class." The girls wrote about Anne, the boys about John.

Their stories were scored for "motive to avoid success" if they expressed any negative imagery that reflected concern about doing well. Generally, such imagery fell into three categories:

1. The most frequent Anne story reflected strong fears of social rejection as a result of success. The girls in this group showed anxiety about becoming unpopular, unmarriageable and lonely.

   > Anne is an acne-faced bookworm. She runs to the bulletin board and finds she's at the top. As usual she smarts off.

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A chorus of groans is the rest of the class's reply. She studies 12 hours a day, and lives at home to save money. "Well it certainly paid off. All the Friday and Saturday nights without dates--I'll be the best woman doctor alive." And yet a twinge of sadness comes thru--she wonders what she really has.

Although Anne is happy with her success she fears what will happen to her social life. The male medical students don't seem to think very highly of a female who has beaten them in their field.... She will be proud and successful but alas a very lonely doctor.

Anne doesn't want to be number one in her class--she feels she shouldn't rank so high because of social reasons. She drops down to ninth in the class and then marries the boy who graduates number one.

Anne is pretty darn proud of herself, but everyone hates and envies her.

2. Girls in the second category were less concerned with issues of social approval or disapproval; they were more worried about definitions of womanhood. Their stories expressed guilt and despair over success, and doubts about their femininity or normality.

Unfortunately Anne no longer feels so certain that she really wants to be a doctor. She is worried about herself and wonders if perhaps she isn't normal.... Anne decides not to continue with her medical work but to take courses that have a deeper personal meaning for her.

Anne feels guilty.... She will finally have a nervous breakdown and quit medical school and marry a successful young doctor.

Anne is pleased. She had worked extraordinarily hard and her grades showed it. "It is not enough," Anne thinks. "I am not happy." She didn't even want to be a doctor. She is not sure what she wants. Anne says to hell with the whole business and goes into social work--not hardly as glamorous, prestigious or lucrative; but she is happy.

3. The third group of stories did not even try to confront the ambivalence about doing well. Girls in this category simply denied the possibility that any mere woman could be so successful. Some of them completely changed the content of the clue, or distorted it, or refused to believe it, or absolved Anne of responsibility for her success. These stories were remarkable for their psychological ingenuity:

Anne is a code name for a nonexistent person created by a group of medical students. They take turns writing exams for Anne....

> Anne is really happy she's on top, though Tom is higher than she--that's as it should be.... Anne doesn't mind Tom winning.
>
> Anne is talking to her counselor. Counselor says she will make a fine nurse.
>
> It was luck that Anne came out on top because she didn't want to go to medical school anyway.

First I put all of the students together in a large competitive group, and gave them a series of achievement tests (verbal and arithmetic). I then assigned them randomly to one of three other experimental conditions. One-third worked on a similar set of tests each in competition with a member of the same sex. One-third competed against a member of the opposite sex. The last third worked by themselves, a non-competitive condition.

One way of avoiding this problem is to use each subject as his own control; that is, the performance of an individual working alone can be compared with his score in competition. Ability thus remains constant.

Performance changed dramatically over the two situations. A large number of the men did far better when they were in competition than when they worked alone. For the women the reverse was true. Fewer than one-third of the women, but more than two-thirds of the men, got significantly higher scores in competition.

These findings suggest that most women will fully explore their intellectual potential only when they do not need to compete--and least of all when they are competing with men. This was most true of women with a strong anxiety about success.

# SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPES AND CLINICAL JUDGMENTS OF MENTAL HEALTH

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*A sex-role stereotype questionnaire consisting of 122 bipolar items was given to actively functioning clinicians with one of three sets of instructions: To describe a healthy, mature, socially competent (a) adult, sex unspecified, (b) a man, or (c) a woman. It was hypothesized that clinical judgments about the characteristics of healthy individuals would differ as a function of sex of person judged, and furthermore, that these differences in clinical judgments would parallel stereotypic sex-role differences. A second hypothesis predicted that behaviors and characteristics judged healthy for an adult, sex unspecified, which are presumed to reflect an ideal standard of health, will resemble behaviors judged healthy for men, but differ from behaviors judged healthy for women. Both hypotheses were confirmed. Possible reasons for and the effects of this double standard of health are discussed.*

Evidence of the existence of sex-role stereotypes, that is, highly consensual norms and beliefs about the differing characteristics of men and women, is abundantly present in the literature (Anastasi and Foley, 1949; Fernberger, 1948; Komarovsky, 1950; McKee and Sherriffs, 1957; Seward, 1946; Seward and Larson, 1968; Wylie, 1961; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, and Broverman, 1968). Similarly, the differential valuations of behaviors and characteristics stereotypically ascribed to men and women are well established (Kitay, 1940; Lynn, 1959; McKee and Sherriffs, 1959; Rosenkrantz et al., 1968; White, 1950), that is, stereotypically masculine traits are more often perceived as socially desirable than are attributes which are stereotypically feminine. The literature also indicates that the social desirabilities of behaviors are positively related to the clinical ratings of these same behaviors in terms of "normality-abnormality" (Cowen, 1961), "adjustment" (Wiener, Blumberg, Segmen, and Cooper, 1959), and "health-sickness" (Kogan, Quinn, Ax, and Ripley, 1957).

Given the relationships existing between masculine versus feminine characteristics and social desirability, on the one hand, and between mental health and social desirability on the other, it seems reasonable to expect that clinicians will maintain parallel distinctions in their concepts of what, behaviorally, is healthy or pathological when considering men versus women. More specifically, particular behaviors and characteristics may be thought indicative of pathology in members of one sex, but not pathological in members of the opposite sex.

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The present paper, then, tests the hypothesis that clinical judgments about the traits characterizing healthy, mature individuals will differ as a function of the sex of the person judged. Furthermore, these differences in clinical judgments are expected to parallel the stereotypic sex-role differences previously reported (Rosenkrantz, et al., 1968).

Finally, the present paper hypothesizes that behavioral attributes which are regarded as healthy for an adult, sex unspecified, and thus presumably viewed from an ideal, absolute standpoint, will more often be considered by clinicians as healthy or appropriate for men than for women. This hypothesis derives from the assumption that abstract notions of health will tend to be more influenced by the greater social value of masculine stereotypic characteristics than by the lesser valued feminine stereotypic characteristics.

The authors are suggesting, then, that a double standard of health exists wherein ideal concepts of health for a mature adult, sex unspecified, are meant primarily for men, less so for women.

## Method

### *Subjects*

Seventy-nine clinically-trained psychologists, psychiatrists, or social workers (46 men, 33 women) served as *Ss*. Of these, 31 men and 18 women had PhD or MD degrees. The *Ss* were all actively functioning in clinical settings. The ages varied between 23 and 55 years and experience ranged from internship to extensive professional experience.

### *Instrument*

The authors have developed a Stereotype Questionnaire which is described in detail elsewhere (Rosenkrantz et al., 1968). Briefly, the questionnaire consists of 122 bipolar items each of which describes, with an adjective or a short phrase, a particular behavior trait or characteristic such as:

| | |
|---|---|
| Very aggressive | Not at all aggressive |
| Doesn't hide emotions at all | Always hides emotions |

One pole of each item can be characterized as typically masculine, the other as typically feminine (Rosenkrantz et al., 1968). On 41 items, 70% or better agreement occurred as to which pole characterizes men or women, respectively, in both a sample of college men and in a sample of college women (Rosenkrantz et al., 1968). These items have been classified as "stereotypic."

The questionnaire used in the present study differs slightly from the original questionnaire. Seven original items seemed to reflect adolescent concerns with sex, for example, "very proud of sexual ability

. . . not at all concerned with sexual ability." These items were replaced by seven more general items. Since three of the discarded items were stereotypic, the present questionnaire contains only 38 stereotypic items. These items are shown in Table 1.

Finally, in a prior study, judgments have been obtained from samples of *Ss* as to which pole of each item represents the more socially desirable behavior or trait for an adult individual in general, regardless of sex. On 27 of the 38 stereotypic items, the masculine pole is more socially desirable (male-valued items), and on the remaining 11 stereotypic items, the feminine pole is the more socially desirable one (female-valued items).

*Instructions*

The clinicians were given the 122-item questionnaire with one of three sets of instructions, "male," "female," or "adult." Seventeen men and 10 women were given the "male" instructions which stated "think of normal, adult men and then indicate on each item the pole to which a mature, healthy, socially competent adult man would be closer." The *Ss* were asked to look at the opposing poles of each item in terms of directions rather than extremes of behavior. Another 14 men and 12 women were given "female" instructions, that is, they were asked to describe a "mature, healthy, socially competent adult woman." Finally, 15 men and 11 women were given "adult" instructions. These *Ss* were asked to describe a "healthy, mature, socially competent adult person" (sex unspecified). Responses to these "adult" instructions may be considered indicative of "ideal" health patterns, without respect to sex.

*Scores*

Although *Ss* responded to all 122 items, only the stereotypic items which reflect highly consensual, clear distinctions between men and women as perceived by lay people were analyzed. The questionnaires were scored by counting the number of *Ss* that marked each pole of each stereotypic item, within each set of instructions. Since some *Ss* occasionally left an item blank, the proportion of *Ss* marking each pole was computed for each item. Two types of scores were developed: "agreement" scores and "health" scores.

The agreement scores consisted of the proportion of *Ss* on that pole of each item which was marked by the majority of the *Ss*. Three agreement scores for each item were computed; namely, a "masculinity agreement score" based on *Ss* receiving the "male" instructions, a "femininity agreement score," and an "adult agreement score" derived from the *Ss* receiving the "female" and "adult" instructions, respectively.

The health scores are based on the assumption that the pole which the majority of the clinicians consider to be healthy for an adult, independent of sex, reflects an ideal standard of health. Hence, the proportion of *Ss* with either male or female instructions who marked that pole of an

(continued on page 109)

TABLE 1

Male-Valued and Female-Valued Stereotypic Items

| Feminine pole | Masculine pole |
|---|---|
| **Male-valued items** | |
| Not at all aggressive | Very aggressive |
| Not at all independent | Very independent |
| Very emotional | Not at all emotional |
| Does not hide emotions at all | Almost always hides emotions |
| Very subjective | Very objective |
| Very easily influenced | Not at all easily influenced |
| Very submissive | Very dominant |
| Dislikes math and science very much | Likes math and science very much |
| Very excitable in a minor crisis | Not at all excitable in a minor crisis |
| Very passive | Very active |
| Not at all competitive | Very competitive |
| Very illogical | Very logical |
| Very home oriented | Very worldly |
| Not at all skilled in business | Very skilled in business |
| Very sneaky | Very direct |
| Does not know the way of the world | Knows the way of the world |
| Feelings easily hurt | Feelings not easily hurt |
| Not at all adventurous | Very adventurous |
| Has difficulty making decisions | Can make decisions easily |
| Cries very easily | Never cries |
| Almost never acts as a leader | Almost always acts as a leader |
| Not at all self-confident | Very self-confident |
| Very uncomfortable about being aggressive | Not at all uncomfortable about being aggressive |
| Not at all ambitious | Very ambitious |
| Unable to separate feelings from ideas | Easily able to separate feelings from ideas |
| Very dependent | Not at all dependent |
| Very conceited about appearance | Never conceited about appearance |
| **Female-valued items** | |
| Very talkative | Not at all talkative |
| Very tactful | Very blunt |
| Very gentle | Very rough |
| Very aware of feelings of others | Not at all aware of feelings of others |
| Very religious | Not at all religious |
| Very interested in own appearance | Not at all interested in own appearance |
| Very neat in habits | Very sloppy in habits |
| Very quiet | Very loud |
| Very strong need for security | Very little need for security |
| Enjoys art and literature very much | Does not enjoy art and literature at all |
| Easily expresses tender feelings | Does not express tender feelings at all |

item which was most often designated as healthy for an adult was taken as a "health" score. Thus, two health scores were computed for each of the stereotypic items: a "masculinity health score" from *Ss* with "male" instructions, and a "femininity health score" from *Ss* with "female" instructions.

## Results

### *Sex Differences in Subject Responses*

The masculinity, femininity, and adult health and agreement scores of the male clinicians were first compared to the comparable scores of the female clinicians via *t* tests. None of these *t* tests was significant (the probability levels ranged from .25 to .90). Since the male and female *Ss* did not differ significantly in any way, all further analyses were performed with the samples of men and women combined.

### *Agreement Scores*

The means and sigmas of the adult, masculinity, and femininity agreement scores across the 38 stereotypic items are shown in Table 2. For each of these three scores, the average proportion of *Ss* agreeing as to which pole reflects the more healthy behavior or trait is significantly greater than the .50 agreement one would expect by chance. Thus, the average masculinity agreement score is .831 ($z = 3.15$, $p < .001$), the average femininity agreement score is .763 ($z = 2.68$, $p < .005$), and the average adult agreement score is .866 ($z = 3.73$, $p < .001$). These means indicate that on the stereotypic items clinicians strongly agree on the behaviors and attributes which characterize a healthy man, a healthy woman, or a healthy adult independent of sex, respectively.

TABLE 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Adult, Masculinity, and Femininity Agreement Scores on 38 Stereotypic Items

| Agreement score | *M* | *SD* | Deviation from chance | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Z* | *P* |
| Adult | .866 | .116 | 3.73 | < .001 |
| Masculinity | .831 | .122 | 3.15 | < .001 |
| Femininity | .763 | .164 | 2.68 | < .005 |

*Relationship Between Clinical Judgments of Health and Student Judgments of Social Desirability*

Other studies indicate that social desirability is related to clinical judgments of mental health (Cowen, 1961; Kogan et al., 1957; Wiener et al., 1959). The relation between social desirability and clinical judgment was tested in the present data by comparing the previously established socially desirable poles of the stereotypic items (Rosenkrantz et al., 1968) to the poles of those items which the clinicians judged to be the healthier and more mature for an *adult*. Table 3 shows that the relationship is, as predicted, highly significant ($x^2 = 23.64$, $p < .001$). The present data, then, confirm the previously reported relationships that social desirability, as perceived by nonprofessional *Ss*, is strongly related to professional concepts of mental health.

The four items on which there is disagreement between health and social desirability ratings are: to be emotional; not to hide emotions; to be religious; to have a very strong need for security. The first two items are considered to be healthy for adults by clinicians but not by students; the second two items have the reverse pattern of ratings.

TABLE 3

Chi-Square Analysis of Social Desirability
Versus Adult Health Scores on
38 Stereotypic Items

| Item | Pole elected by majority of clinicians for healthy adults |
|---|---|
| Socially desirable pole | 34 |
| Socially undesirable pole | 4 |

Note: $x^2 = 23.64$, $p < .001$

*Sex-Role Stereotype and Masculinity Versus Femininity Health Scores*

On 27 of the 38 stereotypic items, the male pole is perceived as more socially desirable by a sample of college students (male-valued items); while on 11 items, the feminine pole is seen as more socially desirable (female-valued items). A hypothesis of this paper is that the masculinity health scores will tend to be greater than the femininity health scores on the male-valued items, while the femininity health scores will tend to be greater than the masculinity health scores on the female-valued items.

In other words, the relationship of the clinicians' judgments of health for men and women are expected to parallel the relationship between stereotypic sex-role behaviors and social desirability. The data support the hypothesis. Thus, on 25 of the 27 male-valued items, the masculinity health score exceeds the femininity health score; while 7 of the 11 female-valued items have higher femininity health scores than masculinity health scores. On four of the female-valued items, the masculinity health score exceeds the femininity health score. The chi-square derived from these data is 10.73 ($df = 1$, $p < .001$). This result indicates that clinicians tend to consider socially desirable masculine characteristics more often as healthy for men than for women. On the other hand, only about half of the socially desirable feminine characteristics are considered more often as healthy for women rather than for men.

On the face of it, the finding that clinicians tend to ascribe male-valued stereotypic traits more often to healthy men than to healthy women may seem trite. However, an examination of the content of these items suggests that this trite-seeming phenomenon conceals a powerful, negative assessment of women. For instance, among these items, clinicians are more likely to suggest that healthy women differ from healthy men by being more submissive, less independent, less adventurous, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more excitable in minor crises, having their feelings more easily hurt, being more emotional, more conceited about their appearance, less objective, and disliking math and science. This constellation seems a most unusual way of describing any mature, healthy individual.

*Mean Differences Between Masculinity Health Scores and Femininity Health Scores*

The above chi-square analysis reports a significant pattern of differences between masculine and feminine health scores in relationship to the stereotypic items. It is possible, however, that the differences, while in a consistent, predictable direction, actually are trivial in magnitude. A $t$ test, performed between the means of the masculinity and femininity health scores, yielded a $t$ of 2.16 ($p < .05$), indicating that the mean masculinity health score (.827) differed significantly from the mean femininity health score (.747). Thus, despite massive agreement about the health dimension per se, men and women appear to be located at significantly different points along this well-defined dimension of health.

*Concepts of the Healthy Adult Versus Concepts of Healthy Men and Healthy Women*

Another hypothesis of this paper is that the concepts of health for a sex-unspecified adult, and for a man, will not differ, but that the concepts of health for women will differ significantly from those of the adult.

This hypothesis was tested by performing $t$ tests between the adult agreement scores versus the masculinity and femininity health scores.

Table 4 indicates, as predicted, that the adult and masculine concepts of health do not differ significantly ($t = 1.38$, $p > .10$), whereas, a significant difference does exist between the concepts of health for adults versus females ($t = 3.33$, $p < .01$).

These results, then, confirm the hypothesis that a double standard of health exists for men and women, that is, the general standard of health is actually applied only to men, while healthy women are perceived as significantly less healthy by adult standards.

TABLE 4

Relation of Adult Health Scores to Masculinity Health Scores and to Femininity Health Scores on 38 Stereotypic Items

| Health score | *M* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|
| Masculinity | .827 | .130 |
| | | $t = 1.38$* |
| Adult | .866 | .115 |
| | | $t = 3.33$** |
| Femininity | .747 | .187 |

*$df = 74$, $p > .05$.
**$df = 74$, $p < .01$.

## Discussion

The results of the present study indicate that high agreement exists among clinicians as to the attributes characterizing healthy adult men, healthy adult women, and healthy adults, sex unspecified. This agreement, furthermore, holds for both men and women clinicians. The results of this study also support the hypotheses that (*a*) clinicians have different concepts of health for men and women and (*b*) these differences parallel the sex-role stereotypes prevalent in our society.

Although no control for the theoretical orientation of the clinicians was attempted, it is unlikely that a particular theoretical orientation was disproportionately represented in the sample. A counterindication is that the clinicians' concepts of health for a mature adult are strongly related to the concepts of social desirability held by college students. This positive relationship between social desirability and concepts of

health replicates findings by a number of other investigators (Cowen, 1961; Kogan et al., 1957; Wiener et al., 1959).

The clinicians' concepts of a healthy, mature man do not differ significantly from their concepts of a healthy adult. However, the clinicians' concepts of a mature, healthy woman do differ significantly from their adult health concepts. Clinicians are significantly less likely to attribute traits which characterize healthy adults to a woman than they are likely to attribute these traits to a healthy man.

Speculation about the reasons for and the effects of this double standard of health and its ramifications seems appropriate. In the first place, men and women do differ biologically, and these biological differences appear to be reflected behaviorally, with each sex being more effective in certain behaviors (Broverman, Klaiber, Kobayashi and Vogel, 1968). However, we know of no evidence indicating that these biologically-based behaviors are the basis of the attributes stereotypically attributed to men and to women. Even if biological factors did contribute to the formation of the sex-role stereotypes, enormous overlap undoubtedly exists between the sexes with respect to such traits as logical ability, objectivity, independence, etc.; that is, a great many women undoubtedly possess these characteristics to a greater degree than do many men. In addition, variation in these traits within each sex is certainly great. In view of the within-sex variability, and the overlap between sexes, it seems inappropriate to apply different standards of health to men compared to women on purely biological grounds.

More likely, the double standard of health for men and women stems from the clinicians' acceptance of an "adjustment" notion of health; for example, health consists of a good adjustment to one's environment. In our society, men and women are systematically trained, practically from birth on, to fulfill different social roles. An adjustment notion of health, plus the existence of differential norms of male and female behavior in our society, automatically lead to a double standard of health. Thus, for a woman to be healthy, from an adjustment viewpoint, she must adjust to and accept the behavioral norms for her sex, even though these behaviors are generally less socially desirable and considered to be less healthy for the generalized competent, mature adult.

By way of analogy, one could argue that a black person who conformed to the "pre-civil rights" southern Negro stereotype, that is, a docile, unambitious, childlike, etc., person, was well adjusted to his environment and, therefore, a healthy and mature adult. Our recent history testifies to the bankruptcy of this concept. Alternative definitions of mental health and maturity are implied by concepts of innate drives toward self-actualization, toward mastery of the environment, and toward fulfillment of one's potential (Allport, 1955; Bühler, 1959; Erikson, 1950; Maslow, 1954; Rogers, 1951). Such innate drives, in both blacks and women, are certainly in conflict with becoming adjusted to a social environment with associated restrictive stereotypes. Acceptance of an adjustment notion of health, then, places women in the conflictual position of having to decide whether

to exhibit those positive characteristics considered desirable for men and adults, and thus have their "femininity" questioned, that is, be deviant in terms of being a woman; or to behave in the prescribed feminine manner, accept second-class adult status, and possibly live a lie to boot.

Another problem with the adjustment notion of health lies in the conflict between the overt laws and ethics existing in our society versus the covert but real customs and mores which significantly shape an individual's behavior. Thus, while American society continually emphasizes equality of opportunity and freedom of choice, social pressures toward conformity to the sex-role stereotypes tend to restrict the actual career choices open to women, and, to a lesser extent, men. A girl who wants to become an engineer or business executive, or a boy who aspires to a career as a ballet dancer or a nurse, will at least encounter raised eyebrows. More likely, considerable obstacles will be put in the path of each by parents, teachers, and counselors.

We are not suggesting that it is the clinicians who pose this dilemma for women. Rather, we see the judgments of our sample of clinicians as merely reflecting the sex-role stereotypes, and the differing valuations of these stereotypes, prevalent in our society. It is the attitudes of our society that create the difficulty. However, the present study does provide evidence that clinicians do accept these sex-role stereotypes, at least implicitly, and, by so doing, help to perpetuate the stereotypes. Therapists should be concerned about whether the influence of the sex-role stereotypes on their professional activities acts to reinforce social and intrapsychic conflict. Clinicians undoubtedly exert an influence on social standards and attitudes beyond that of other groups. This influence arises not only from their effect on many individuals through conventional clinical functioning, but also out of their role as "expert" which leads to consultation to governmental and private agencies of all kinds, as well as guidance of the general public.

It may be worthwhile for clinicians to critically examine their attitudes concerning sex-role stereotypes, as well as their position with respect to an adjustment notion of health. The cause of mental health may be better served if both men and women are encouraged toward maximum realization of individual potential, rather than to an adjustment to existing restrictive sex roles.

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